

THE MONITOR

A PUBLICATION OF THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

P.O. 50469 * Atlanta * Georgia * 30302-0469

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November 1990 * P.O. Station, Atlanta, Georgia 30302-0469 * No. 21

Mobilization Against White Supremacy

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By Page 3, Please

This Is Your Sample Issue!

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today.

A Message From the Chairman

"From the earliest days of the Civil Rights movement, when I was organizing lunch counter sit-ins in Peoria, Illinois, I knew that the fight against racism was a long-term struggle. But still, I could never have imagined then, in 1947, that more than 40 years later bigoted violence and hate group activity would be on the rise. As bad as things are, however, I believe that we can still win the fight against bigotry and hate violence. With your support, the Center for Democratic Renewal can continue to fight for equality and human rights, today and tomorrow."



The Rev. C.T. Vivian:

If you believe, as I do, that we can win the fight against bigotry in our lifetime, then please renew your membership today!

Please act now or your name will be dropped from our mailing list. Please fill out the coupon on the inside back and send it in today.

**A vital
resource
against
the
politics
of fear!**

Six times a year, the newsletter of the Center for Democratic Renewal keeps YOU informed on the activities and trends of skinheads, neo-Nazis, Klansmen and others on the far right. *We report it before the media knows about it.*

The Monitor is a critical tool against hate and bigoted violence. Each issue is a unique, valuable source of reliable information. No other publication covers such a wide range of racist, anti-semitic, and far right activities. No other publication provides the in-depth analysis YOU need to become part of the movement fighting hate group activity. The research department of the Center for Democratic Renewal brings YOU the stories long before they make the six o'clock news.

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CONSTANCE SAN JUAN

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Challenging Racism and Bigotry — After David Duke, What Next

When Mississippi Klansman Bob Weems gave up his Klan robe to become chairman of the Populist Party in 1984, we warned that white supremacists were looking for new ways to penetrate the political mainstream.

Four years later, David Duke announced his campaign for President in a Marietta, Ga., motel room full of 125 grand dragons, exalted cyclops, and assorted Kluxers.

When the Populist Party and David Duke announced they were going to follow the run-as-a-Democrat-Republican-or independent electoral strategies of Lyndon LaRouche, the CDR said "They will have more success with their down home racism than LaRouche will ever have with his conspiracy theories."

Now the white supremacist movement is looking for political candidates with Duke's hard-edged racism, but without his swastika-and-white robe past. The quasi-intellectual racist monthly magazine *Instauration* put it this way just before the October 6 Louisiana primary:

"Whatever happens, Duke wins. He's proved that every white in this country has not curled up and played dead. His dramatic run for office has produced



*A message from
Chairman C.T. Vivian*

enough names, money and supporters to be the basis of a national political organization. He's inspired political clones who will surely adopt his campaign strategy in future elections. It's to be hoped, however, that Duke's imitators will not carry the baggage that David had to carry.

As Instauration never gets tired of repeating, what the Majority needs are rising young politicians with super clean records. Members of the new Majority political breed must be able to concentrate on the issues, not spend half or all of their time apologizing, denying or soft-peddling past "indiscretions."

Duke was successful even beyond the dreams of his neo-Nazi comrades.

- He received almost 60 percent of the white vote.
- He carried 25 of Louisiana's 64 parishes.
- Duke's support came from across the demographic spectrum—from blue collar and middle class voters; from Catholics and Protestants.
- White Democrats voted for Duke at a higher rate than Republicans—69 percent to 52 percent.
- His campaign reported to the Fed-

eral Election Commission over \$1.3 million in contributions during the first nine months of 1990.

Duke has now received more votes than any other Republican candidate running in 1990 for state-wide office in Louisiana.

Although national Republican Party officials have issued pro-forma denunciations of Duke, they haven't forced a peep out of the Louisiana party. When Republican Party state central committee member Beth Rickey brought a censure motion to the floor of a state party meeting, she was outmaneuvered by party bosses who didn't want to alienate Duke's supporters.

His Klan and neo-Nazi "past" aside, it's an open secret that Duke's campaign platform was very similar to that of Jesse Helms. Some people simply refer to Duke as "Son of Willie Horton."

David Duke likes campaigning. He's been campaigning ever since his neo-Nazi days at Louisiana State University in 1969. Next year he will probably campaign again.

There is a Governor's race in Louisiana and it's a perfect opportunity to drum up hatred against the "welfare underclass" and "New York media" elites. But more important are the 25-year-old community college students who volunteered for Duke's campaign this year and will run for office in 1992 and 1996.

Already Bob Hoy, an intimate of both the Liberty Lobby and the British National Front, has started a paper organization, "Republican Action for the '90's." Hoy supports Duke and former Reagan aide Pat Buchanan.

A new generation of white supremacist activists is being trained. Instead of learning how to wrap burlap around Klan crosses in cow pastures, they are learning the intricacies of polling, media strategies and precinct organization.

And they won't be mere conservative Republican Party retreats. □

The Monitor is produced by the Research Department of the Center for Democratic Renewal and published by the Center for Democratic Renewal and Education, Inc. Dr. C.T. Vivian, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Dan Levitas, Executive Director, Leonard Zeskind, Director of Research. Individual subscriptions can be obtained for \$15 per year; institutional subscriptions for \$25; first-class overseas for \$30. Individual members of the CDR will receive **The Monitor** and notice of special publications for a rate of \$30 per year. **The Monitor** will be published at least six times per year. To submit articles or to subscribe, write CDR, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302-0469, or call (404) 221-0025.

Mobilization

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the surge of Klan activity in the state, four staff members now run a complex program of public education, victim advocacy and community organizing. NCARRV issues yearly reports documenting bigoted violence and hate group activity across the state. The reports have been useful to local media and government officials. A new project organizing young people to confront bigotry was started this year. NCARRV has also played a key role integrating the fight against homophobic violence into the fight against the Klan and neo-Nazis.

A fledgling statewide organization in Montana, the Montana Human Rights Network, was formed last summer to coordinate the local groups scat-

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On Sept. 1 approximately 250 neo-Nazis, racist skinheads and Klan members marched through Lawrenceville, Ga. About 100 Klan members had marched through nearby Gainesville earlier in the day. That evening 500 white supremacists gathered at Stone Mountain for a triple cross burning rally. Among those attending were delegations from the Invisible Empire Klan, Southern White Knights, Knights of the KKK, Knights of the White Camelia, Confederate Knights of America, American Front, New National Socialist Party and others. Photo: CDR.

Blakely, Ga., update —

Evidence mounts against Klan fire chief

Plaintiffs in the federal civil rights case *Williams et. al. vs Brown et. al.* have responded to a motion for summary judgment filed by Klan fire chief Franklin Brown and the city of Blakely, Ga. Brown claims he was never a member of the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, but documents uncovered by CDR prove otherwise.

After a four-month investigation, the CDR made public secret Klan documents naming Brown as the vice-president of the local Klan group. His son was the leader.

African-American residents of Blakely and leaders of the local Concerned Black Citizens Committee filed a federal civil rights suit against the Klan fire chief, the city and individual members of the city council.

The suit alleged, among other things, that the racial animus of Brown and other fire department employees who were Klansmen led to the deaths of at least two African American children, Antavious Sentell Williams and Charles McCoy, ages six and seven.

In a sworn affidavit recently filed in Federal District Court in Albany, Ga., arson investigation expert James Munger testified that: "The Blakely fire department does not provide services for all its citizens without discrimination but instead the level and quality of protection is based upon socio-economic factors" and "The first priority for strategic decisions is that of life safety ...

the actions of chief Franklin Brown during the Williams fire clearly violated the recognized standard of care for search and rescue."

Chief Brown still maintains his innocence. "I am not now and have not been a member of the Ku Klux Klan or any other white supremacist organization," states Brown in his sworn affidavit filed with the federal court.

But an affidavit by George S. Pearl, a handwriting expert and certified member of the Association of Forensic Document Examiners with more than 16 years of experience in document analysis indicates differently.

After examining the original letter naming Brown as the Klaliff — or vice president — of the Early County Klavern, Pearl concluded that, "the type on this document is genuine and there have been no changes, additions or insertions of any words on this letter."

Leaders of the Concerned Black Citizens Committee have announced that the city of Blakely settled a voting rights case they filed in April. "This is a new day for all the people of Blakely," declared Ben Cawthon, president of the Committee.

The settlement decree will divide the city into two districts with two city council members being elected from each district. One of the districts will be approximately 74 percent majority-Black, the other is 87 percent majority white. A special election is scheduled for the first Tuesday in March, 1991. □

Mobilization (Continued from Page 3)

tered across Montana's 147,138 square miles. Several of the local groups are located on Indian reservations and activists there are blending concern about the Aryan Nations and the so-called Christian-patriots with an effort to protect Indian sovereignty.

The Portland Coalition for Human Dignity, less than two years old, issued its first report documenting hate group activity across Oregon. They helped build a committee of local organizations to sponsor a march on October 7. Included were the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission, the Portland Rainbow Coalition, New Jewish Agenda, Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice as well as dozens of other Indian, gay and lesbian and community groups. The Coalition for Human Dignity won the 1990 "Community Service" award from *The Skanner*, a newspaper serving the African-American community.

In Gainesville, Fla., the Community Against Hate Crimes has lead non-violent protests against rallies of Klansmen, neo-Nazis and racist skinheads. The activist group has been particularly active educating students about the danger from the White Student Union group at the University of Florida. White Student Unions have started to pop up on other campuses and the experiences in Gainesville will provide invaluable lessons for others attempting to stop the racist groups.

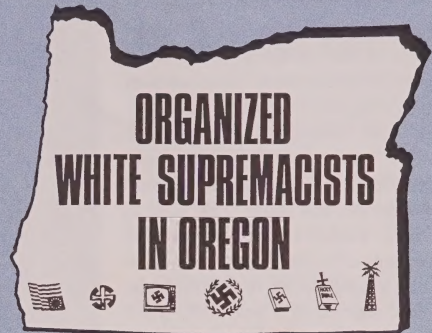
In Louisiana the Mobilization to Stop David Duke and the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism formed political action committees. The Louisiana Coalition issued an information packet after they realized that local media were unaware of Duke's current white supremacist activities. They conducted voter polling surveys, direct mail campaigns and produced a television commercial which aired in the major media markets. They also provided speakers, leaflets, bumper stickers and information to local activists across the state. They even held a student conference to mobilize against Duke on the campuses.

The Mobilization protested at Duke headquarters and marched through Metairie, Duke's home district. The Mobilization attracted the activity of anti-racists, particularly white people. They collected \$5,000 in small contributions for a one page newspaper ad listing the names of hundreds of people opposed to Duke.

In Georgia the Concerned Black Citizens of Blakely and the newly-formed People for Unity in Gainesville have grown. People for Unity held a well attended prayer service in response to the annual march of the Invisible Empire over Labor Day weekend. They are preparing for a long battle to end Klan terror in their community. In recent months the Invisible Empire has targeted Mexican immigrants working in area poultry plants.

An Atlanta-based coalition formed last Spring to lobby for legislation aimed at hate crimes. The bill, sponsored by State Rep. Nan Orrock, didn't pass, but activists expect to mount a state-wide effort to pass the bill in 1991.

"The wide variety of coalitions, committees and other organizations all need the resources of the Center for Democratic Renewal," said Dan Levitas, executive director. "Together we can build a movement against racism and bigotry. But we are just at the beginning and we have a long way to go." □



Report documents organized hate group activity in Oregon

Not all the bigots in Oregon are racist skinheads, according to a new report by the Coalition for Human Dignity.

Organized White Supremacists in Oregon was published in September by the Portland-based organization, with the help of the CDR. It documents the increasing influence of professional neo-Nazi organizations such as the National Socialist Vanguard, the Aryan Nations and W.A.R. among the burgeoning skinhead movement in Oregon.

It also details the increase in Christian-patriot and Identity organizing in Oregon's small towns and rural communities. "The so-called Christian-patriot movement is every bit as dangerous as the racist skinheads or the Aryan Nations," according to the report's author, Jonathan Mozzochi.

"We felt it was important for a community group such as the Coalition to call attention to this activity, which has been virtually ignored."

Organized White Supremacists also includes a section on homophobic organizing by organizations which are not directly linked to Klan, neo-Nazi or Christian patriot groups.

CDR executive director Dan Levitas said, "Other local community-based organizations should use this as a model and issue similar reports on hate group activity in their areas." The CDR contributed research and financial assistance to the project.

For a copy of *Organized White Supremacists in Oregon* send \$5.00 to Coalition for Human Dignity; PO Box 40344; Portland, OR 97240.

Stetson Kennedy

Klan tried to burn him out, but he kept on fighting 'American apartheid'

Stetson Kennedy was fighting the Klan and racism before Hollywood thought it was glamorous and downtown Atlanta thought it was righteous. When he infiltrated the Klan it was composed of policemen and government officials as well as doctors and lawyers. In 1948, while Kennedy was still a Klan member, Klansmen helped elect Herman Talmadge Georgia Governor. And when he exposed the Klan's inner workings he paid a price. His home was vandalized in an attempt to destroy his Klan files. He and his neighbors, along with house guest Woody Guthrie, all spent one night fighting a fire deliberately set to burn him out. And on other occasions he barely escaped with his life.

Kennedy was a genius at using the secret information he gathered to harm the Klan. He passed the names of politically influential Klansmen to Washington columnist Drew Pearson, who used it in a series of pointed exposes. The Superman comic did a several month series of strips on the Klan, using the secret code words and signs which Kennedy had gathered. And Kennedy turned the information into countless articles and pamphlets for the black community press and the CIO trade union federation.

At one point, Kennedy worked as an investigator for Dan Dukes, a Georgia Assistant State Attorney. But he received little help from the FBI.

"When I would go with my information to the FBI in Atlanta or Jacksonville they would pay no attention," Kennedy said. "They took no notes and would receive no documents. They took no action on information I had on the Klan's plans to raid an arsenal. On the other hand they would lead me out to the elevator as I was leaving and ask me what I knew about black activists."

Kennedy tells a funny story about his attempts to get the House UnAmerican Activities Committee to investigate the Klan in the late '40's. Kennedy snuck into the Congressional office building wearing his Klan robe and mask. When he persisted in efforts to have Congress investigate the Klan, he was arrested.



Stetson Kennedy, who infiltrated the Ku Klux Klan from 1943 to 1951, helped stop the Klan's growth immediately following WWII. Kennedy, now 74, will be speaking at the CDR's Southern conference "Democracy Vs Racism & Bigotry" in Atlanta Nov. 16-18.

A prolific writer, he has published four books, *Palmetto Country* in 1942, *Southern Exposure* in 1946, *The Klan Unmasked* in 1954 and *Jim Crow Guide* in 1955. All four books have been reprinted and are available. Kennedy is currently working on an ethnic folk history of Florida with two other writers.

Kennedy infiltrated the Klan in 1943 because, he said, "all my classmates were fighting racism and fascism overseas. I had a back injury, so I fought racism and fascism here at home." According to historian Wyn Craig Wade, Kennedy's exposure of the names and secret identities and corporate structure after World War II was a major reason for the decline of the Klan in the late '40's.

In an interview with *The Monitor*, Kennedy helped explain some of the reasons why Klan groups have grown and declined at different times in history.

A \$600,000 tax lien on the Klan's headquarters building in Atlanta

placed by the Roosevelt administration in the 1930s forced the Grand Wizard to board up the building and retire to Florida. Throughout the '30s pro-Nazi groups proliferated and several Klan leaders tried to make an alliance with the German-American Bund shortly before the war. Kennedy believes the Klan-Nazi alliance broke up because "super-patriotic" Klan leaders knew a war with Germany was imminent, rather than any fundamental difference of ideas. The Klan's growth after the war was fueled by fears that blacks returning from the battle front would "like Jim Crow even less when they came home." The post-war surge of black activism culminated in the freedom movement in the late '50s and '60s, which broke the back of official segregation — "American apartheid" — Kennedy calls it.

"Yesterday we had segregated racism," Kennedy said. "Today we have de-segregated racism."

Even though Klan groups have shrunk, now we have to worry about the "plain clothes Klux in the halls of government and the black-robed Klux in the halls of justice," he said. "We are well into a sell-out comparable to the deal of 1876 where the Civil War constitutional amendments were turned into dead letters. We are facing the same kind of threat today, at that same level. That sell-out resulted in a hundred years of apartheid and there is no predicting what another sell-out will do." □

News and Briefs

Klan Hateline Stopped by Kansas City Judge

A U.S. District Judge in Kansas City issued a court order barring the Missouri White Knights from playing a recorded racist telephone message imitating the "Mr. Rogers Neighborhood" television show.

The order required Klan members Adam Troy Mercer, Michael Brooks and Edward Stephens to turn over all recordings to the court. Lawyers for the Mr. Rogers show brought suit for copyright violation.

The White Knights, led by Oklahoman Dennis Mahon, recently merged with the Confederate Knights of America, lead by Terry Boyce of North Carolina

Verdict In Metzger Trial Levies \$12.5 Million

White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader Tom Metzger, WAR Youth leader John Metzger, their organization and two skinheads convicted of murdering Ethiopian immigrant Mulugeta Seraw, were all found guilty in Portland, Ore., of violating Seraw's civil rights.

Punitive damages of \$10 million and economic and non-economic damages of \$2.5 million were awarded the Seraw estate. The Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League brought the case.

The Metzgers, who acted as their own attorneys during the trial, are expected to appeal. Former Aryan Youth Movement member Dave Mazzella provided crucial testimony against the Metzgers.

Aryan Nations Bomb Plotters Guilty

A Boise, Idaho jury found Stephen Nelson, Robert Winslow and Proctor James Baker guilty of planning to bomb a gay bar and other targets in the

Seattle area.

The three Aryan Nations members were arrested with bomb parts in their car last May. All three had attended a Hitler birthday anniversary meeting at the Aryan Nations headquarters in northern Idaho.

Nelson had acted as leader of the group's Youth Action Corps. Much of the trial evidence was gathered by Ricco Valentino, a former professional wrestler who infiltrated the Aryan Nations for the FBI over a three year period.

Okie Skinheads Indicted for Various Hate Crimes

On October 25 the U.S. Department of Justice indicted six Tulsa neo-Nazi skinheads on 13 counts of civil rights violations for hate crimes aimed at African-Americans, Jews and others. Michael Lewis Lawrence, Daniel Roush, Forrest Hyde, Tina Christopher Lawrence, Chris Jones and Greg Kennicutt face possible prison terms ranging from 20 to 115 years.

Reno Skins Convicted

Racist skinheads Angela Stanley, 18, Matthew Faessel, 19, and Michael Stringer, 18, were found guilty of murder in the racially-motivated shooting of an African-American man two years ago. The three were driving around Reno, Nev., when they shot the first African-American they saw on the street.

L.A. Area Organizes Against Hate Crimes

The Los Angeles Student Coalition held a Nov. 3 conference to mobilize young people against racist, anti-semitic and homophobic bigotry. In addition, the International Institute of L.A. has started a program aimed at helping recent immigrants victimized by hate crime. People Against Racist

News clips wanted

CDR relies on its network of friends — particularly Monitor readers — to send newspaper clippings and other written accounts of racist and far-right activities. Send clips on Klan, neo-Nazis, skinheads, Moonies, American Freedom Coalition, Aryan Nations, Identity churches, etc., to CDR, PO Box 50469, Atlanta, GA. 30302-0469.

Terror publishes a newsletter, "Turning The Tide," which is an excellent source of information for the movement against bigoted violence and hate group activity in southern California. For more information write: P.O. Box 1990, Burbank, CA 91507

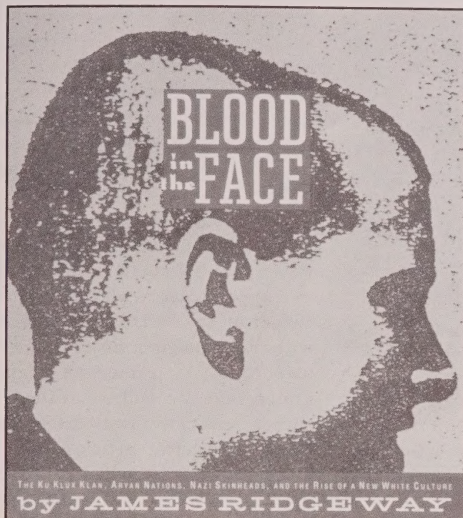
Northwest Coalition Changes By-Laws

The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment held its fourth annual conference in Spokane. Washington State Governor Booth Gardner addressed the gathering and pledged to pass legislation to include sexual orientation in the state's malicious harassment laws. The Northwest Coalition voted to change its by-laws to include within its mission efforts to end homophobic violence.

Hitch in Hate Crimes Statistics Collection

According to representatives of the data collection department of the FBI, the Justice Department will only be able to collect hate crimes data that is voluntarily provided by state and local agencies.

In states where existing malicious harassment legislation does not include crimes motivated by prejudice based on sexual orientation, it will be difficult for the FBI to gather accurate statistics.



Order *Blood in the Face* and receive one-third off your membership in the Center for Democratic Renewal (which includes a subscription to *The Monitor*).

Blood in the Face is the first book to expose the full range of racist far-right movements in America and Europe. *Village Voice* political correspondent Jim Ridgeway has produced the most current and comprehensive survey to date of a culture that is too powerful — and too much a part of American life — to be ignored or dismissed.

☐ Yes, please send me _____ copy(s) of *Blood in the Face* at a savings of 20%.

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Founded in 1979 as the National Anti-Klan Network, the Center for Democratic Renewal is leading the fight against bigoted violence and hate group activity in America today. The CDR is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, inter-faith, non-profit organization dedicated to promoting constructive, non-violent responses to hate violence and the white supremacist movement.

☐ Yes, I want to receive *The Monitor* and help CDR end bigoted violence and hate group activity. Enclosed is my \$30 membership contribution. ☐ Yes, I'd like to provide more support for CDR public education, leadership training, outreach, research, technical assistance and organizing. Enclosed is my additional contribution of ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$250 ☐ Other \$_____. ☐ I can't join the CDR right now, but I still want to stay informed. Please renew my subscription to the *Monitor* today! Enclosed is \$15. ☐ I can't donate now, but please keep me informed. ☐ Please take my name off your mail list.

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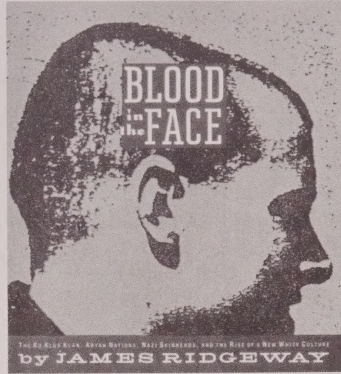
New White Culture: Throwback to the Future?

Blood in the Face: The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Nazi Skinheads, and the Rise of the New White Culture by James Ridgeway. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press. Available from the CDR; see order form, page 7).

A new stream of racism is surging along the currents of politics in Europe and the United States. Fueled by economic dislocation, social malaise and old bigotries, it is engineered by an increasingly sophisticated right-wing political movement.

Jim Ridgeway's *Blood in the Face* is the first book on the racist right-wing which encompasses the old-style Klan, the new-style skinheads, the Hitler worshippers in the Aryan Nations and the nativist Posse Comitatus-types. Ridgeway gives us a look at the small bands of white supremacists waiting to be born as a full scale social movement.

He moves backwards to Henry Ford's anti-semitic conspiracy theories and Hitler's U.S. sympathizers; and then forward to the most advanced



outpost white supremacists have yet to establish, David Duke.

Blood in the Face is a must-read for anyone concerned about the wave of bigotry which threatens us. It is an excellent starting point for students and others studying the modern Klan and neo-Nazis. And any community activist or human relations official hoping to develop a response to hate group activity needs the overview which Ridgeway provides.

Ridgeway is no second-hand observer. Since 1984 he has criss-crossed the country interviewing racist leaders and gathering material. His weekly

column in the *Village Voice* became a bellwether on new developments among Klansmen and neo-Nazis. He not only interviewed Posse killer Michael Ryan, but he got to know the dispossessed farmers and rural Midwesterners that followed the Posse. He read the court documents and criminal indictments which surrounded the Aryan Nations crime wave. But he also relied on his first-hand interaction with Robert Miles and other leaders.

An iconoclast, with his own view, Ridgeway tells an easy-to-read story with fresh insights. *Blood in the Face* also contains numerous graphics drawn from the culture of the white supremacist movement: cartoons, song lyrics, newsletter articles, even the infamous map by which the racists hope to carve up the United States. The many pictures are not decoration, they help tell the story.

The readers can develop their own first-hand unadulterated look at the new white supremacists. Every *Monitor* reader needs to read *Blood in the Face*. Decide for yourself whether David Duke is a throwback to the Jim Crow past or a foreshadowing of the future.

— LEONARD ZESKIND

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Tom Tuthill

1979-1980: Klan Confronta- tions

Vanessa Gallman

Justice vs. the Movement Pat Bryant

The Klan Speaks

Bill Riccio and Bill
Wilkinson

"Just Like the Scouts": The Klan Youth Corps

Nancy Warnecke, Kirk
Loggins and Susan Thomas

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- Pat Bryant, *Special Edition Editor*

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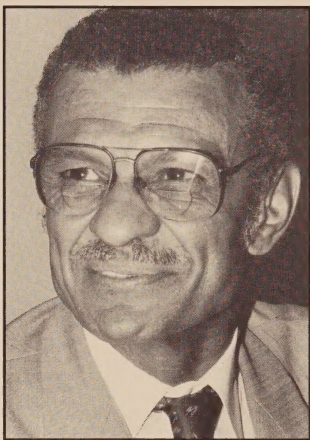
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Message From the Chairman



The Rev. C.T. Vivian:

"From the earliest days of the Civil Rights movement, when I was organizing lunch counter sit-ins in Peoria, Illinois, I knew that the fight against racism was a long-term struggle. But still, I could never have imagined then, in 1947, that more than 40 years later bigoted violence and hate group activity would be on the rise. As bad as things are, however, I believe that we can still win the fight against bigotry and hate violence. With your support, the Center for Democratic Renewal can continue to fight for equality and human rights, today and tomorrow."

- Victim Assistance
- Expert Information and Research
- Leadership Training & Outreach
- Community Response

Building a Movement...

The Center for Democratic Renewal has a uniquely effective program of education, research, victim assistance, community organizing, leadership training and public policy advocacy. We are a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, inter-faith, non-profit organization. The composition of our Board of Directors, staff and volunteers reflects the CDR's vision of democracy and pluralism.

It is obvious that racism, anti-semitism, homophobia and all forms of bigotry will not be eliminated overnight. That's why the Center for Democratic Renewal is dedicated to promoting opposition to hate group activity and bigoted violence through education, activism and action for the long haul. A national clearinghouse for efforts to counter hate group activity, the CDR reaches deep into communities across the country, from Seattle, Washington, to Gainesville, Florida.



WHETHER THE issue is farmbelt anti-semitism, anti-Indian violence in Wisconsin and the Pacific Northwest, or the Ku Klux Klan in the South, the CDR is there, organizing nonviolent opposition—providing training, information and technical assistance. The CDR directly aids dozens of victims of racist violence each year and has helped hundreds of communities respond to hate groups. In Madison County, Georgia, we helped 25 parents of black children win a landmark case against the Invisible Empire Klan group. In the Midwest we have trained more than 1,000 farm, rural, religious and community leaders to counter anti-semitic activity. In Los Angeles, we provided expert testimony against Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance.

THROUGH PROGRAMS of youth education and teacher training the CDR is also building for the future—promoting opposition to bigotry and hate group activity among young people through activism and action. The CDR's expert research exposes the activities of hate groups throughout the United States and keeps the public educated about the white supremacist movement.

"The Center for Democratic Renewal made a significant, concrete contribution to the youth of northern Nevada. Students learned (from CDR) that the best way to counter hate group activity is to make a positive statement of their own. Now kids throughout the area are joining Teens Against Racial Prejudice, an organization which is a direct offshoot of the CDR's visit and other NCCJ programming."

Marsha G. Patinkin, Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Northern Nevada Region

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"I found the CDR's handbook, When Hate Groups Come to Town, an invaluable resource. CDR's efforts to end Klan and neo-Nazi violence deserve the support of all people of goodwill."

— Coretta Scott King

"Because of its honesty and integrity, the Center for Democratic Renewal now sets the standard for investigation and analysis of extremism, not only in the farm belt, but throughout the United States."

— David Goldstein, Executive Director
Jewish Community Relations Bureau
Kansas City

"Nationally and locally, the Center for Democratic Renewal has assisted grassroots organizations and Indian Tribes by monitoring organized hate groups. At a time of increasing hate group activity, including prejudice and violence against Indians, the need for the CDR's work has never been stronger. We strongly support its efforts."

— Rudy Ryser
Chairman
Center for World Indigenous Studies
Kenmore, WA

"The Center for Democratic Renewal is pre-eminent among grassroots organizations working to oppose right-wing hate groups and to revitalize democratic institutions. It is a catalyst and resource for efforts to resist organized racist violence. For standing up to the politics of fear and modeling a powerful new politics of hope, we salute the Center for Democratic Renewal!"

— Interreligious Foundation for
Community Organization
New York City

"In my capacity as director of the University of Kansas Hillel, I have drawn on the resources of the CDR often in the past four years. You have been available and helpful to us on every occasion. The past efforts and visionary goals of the CDR are fundamentally and critically necessary for the development of tolerance and unity among all people."

— Daveen H. Litwin, Director
University of Kansas Hillel
Lawrence, KS

"We at the Task Force have found the CDR to be an invaluable resource fighting homophobia and homophobic violence. The CDR's struggle against the far right is an important one and I hope you think so too!"

— Kevin Berrill, Director
Anti-Violence Project
National Gay & Lesbian Task Force

ying About CDR

"Thank you so much for the information you have provided for articles we have done on the resurgence of racial violence. Your timely response and copious material have been invaluable."

— Lee May

**Atlanta Bureau Chief
Los Angeles Times**

Organizational Affiliates of CDR

- | | |
|---|--|
| Bay Area Municipal Elections Committee (San Jose, CA) | Lesbian and Gay Student Alliance (Pennsylvania State University, PA) |
| Center for Community Change (Washington, DC) | National Education Association, Human and Civil Rights (Washington, DC) |
| Center for Constitutional Rights (New York, NY) | National Lawyers Guild (New York, NY) |
| Canadian Center on Racism and Prejudices (Quebec, Canada) | National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (Washington, DC) |
| Coalition for Human Dignity (Portland, OR) | New Jewish Agenda (New York, NY) |
| Concerned Black Citizens Committee of Blakely (Blakely, GA) | North Carolinians Against Racial and Religious Violence, (Durham) |
| Connecticut Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (Hartford, CT) | Pink Triangle Political Coalition (Kansas City, MO) |
| Emory University Human Relations Commission (Atlanta, GA) | Portland Coalition for Human Dignity (Portland, OR) |
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| GROW Community Center (Wilmington, NC) | Southern Organizing Committee (Birmingham, AL) |
| Human Relations Commission of the City of Evanston (IL) | Southerners for Economic Justice (Durham, NC) |
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| Jewish Federation of Greater Des Moines (Des Moines, IA) | United Methodist Church, Women's Division (New York, NY) |
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A PUBLICATION OF THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

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The Rev. C.T. Vivian:

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THE MONITOR

A PUBLICATION OF THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

Southwest Conference - p. 15

August 1990 * P.O. 50469, Atlanta, Georgia 30302-0469 * No. 20

A Matter of Life and Death in Blakely, Georgia

An epic drama is unfolding in the small southwest Georgia city of Blakely, where the African-American community is challenging the fortress of racism. In six short months they are close to winning, for the first time since Reconstruction, the right to real voter representation. They have organized against discrimination in municipal utility services. Now they are unlocking the death grip that racism has held over the city's fire department.

Three of the municipal firefighters, including the fire chief, are members of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The racism of the fire department has resulted in homes in the African-American community burning to the ground and the deaths of two small children. Leaders of the Concerned Black Citizens Committee of Blakely, with the Center for Democratic Renewal's assistance, have filed a federal civil rights lawsuit against the Klan fire chief and the Blakely city council asking for both damages and a court injunction against unequal fire protection services.

Located in the heart of Georgia's peanut belt, Blakely is a stark



Charles McCoy (left) and Antavious Williams (right) with his mother Hattie Williams. Both children died in separate fire incidents in Blakely, Georgia. Their deaths are subjects of a civil rights lawsuit.

Klan Fire Chief Uncovered. Civil Rights Lawsuit Filed.

To Page 4, Please

Challenging Racism and Bigotry — The Agenda for Democracy in the '90s

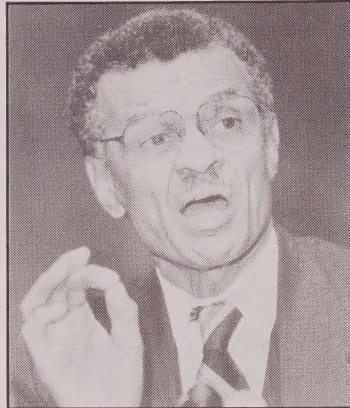
As I write these words Congress is in a tug of war with the President over the first piece of major civil rights legislation since 1965 and the Supreme Court is about to add a new Justice, consolidating the current backward slide.

African-American children are beaten, assaulted and abused on the country's campuses. They are joined by other students of color, Jews and gays and lesbians — all attacked simply because of who they are. When African-Americans move into previously all-white neighborhoods, our homes are vandalized. And when we walk the streets in the Bensonhursts of this land we are assaulted and sometimes murdered.

A new set of code words — "welfare underclass," "drug criminals" ad nauseum — have replaced the old racist epithets. And a new set of politicians, spearheaded by David Duke, hope to turn these code words into the rallying cry of a mass racist movement.

There is little national debate about racism. And what debate exists is dominated by Willie Horton-type ads and charges of "reverse racism" against African-Americans.

Many progressive-minded people



*A message from
Chairman C.T. Vivian*

blame Ronald Reagan. After all, the Reagan administration set a carefully calculated tone of indifference, even racism. Reagan appointees on the Supreme Court chopped away many of the previous gains. Reagan budgets fed a defense department boondoggle and starved human services. Reagan policies resulted in a massive shift of wealth away from the poorest sectors of our population to the richest.

But before Reagan was elected, anti-democratic forces had already taken to the streets and were pressing on statehouses and Congress. New Right political action committees were mobilizing their troops. Klan and neo-Nazi groups had already cut a path of violence across our society. Reaganism came along and reaped the whirlwind.

Ten years later racism and bigotry have hardened into a heavy dead weight, tipping the political scales away from democracy.

Ten years under the umbrella of Reaganism (even if not under Reagan), racism and bigotry have become

widespread. Large numbers of white working people are angry at the squeeze on the middle classes. And they are resentful at African-Americans, who they incorrectly blame for the economic distress. We have had some of the worst results of this process in the Southeast.

In Louisiana, David Duke has built an entire campaign and raised over one million dollars appealing to racism. Other less successful racist candidates are plying their wares in Tennessee and Georgia. In Florida and Louisiana, White Student Unions have formed where none existed before. In Tennessee the Aryan Nations has set up camp with only one goal in mind — to win recruits from the dozen different racist youth groups which have sprung up in the region. And in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Klan groups continue to promote violence.

To meet this growing threat the CDR is organizing a conference for the Southeast region on November 16, 17 and 18 in Atlanta. The conference will give people from different areas of the Southeast a chance to learn from each other and share experiences fighting racism and bigotry. It will develop cohesion and coordination where none now exists. And we will begin the process of putting democracy and justice on the country's agenda for the '90s. □

The Monitor is produced by the Research Department of the Center for Democratic Renewal and published by the Center for Democratic Renewal and Education, Inc. Dr. C.T. Vivian, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Dan Levitas, Executive Director, Leonard Zeskind, Director of Research. Individual subscriptions can be obtained for \$15 per year; institutional subscriptions for \$25; first-class overseas for \$30. Individual members of the CDR will receive *The Monitor* and notice of special publications for a rate of \$30 per year. *The Monitor* will be published at least six times per year. To submit articles or to subscribe, write CDR, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302-0469, or call (404) 221-0025.

Hold These Dates

November 16, 17, 18
Atlanta, Georgia

A Southeast regional conference will examine resurgence of racism and bigotry and the successful strategies that have been used to combat these latest attacks on American democracy. For registration information, turn to page 15 in this issue of *The Monitor*.

Klan fire chief sues CDR, plaintiffs

Vivian: "We Will Not Be Intimidated"

Blakely, Georgia, Fire Chief Franklin Brown filed a libel suit July 3 in Early County Superior Court in response to a federal civil rights suit which charges that he delivered fire services in a racist fashion to the African American community in that small southwest Georgia city. The civil rights lawsuit names Brown as a local officer in the Klan as part of the proof of his racist bias. The CDR's response was immediate.

"Truth is the complete defense against libel," said executive director Dan Levitas. "Our evidence is solid. We intend to sue Franklin Brown for abusive litigation."

"I have never seen such compelling evidence of Klan membership as we have established in this case," said Brian Spears, attorney for the Blakely civil rights plaintiffs.

The Rev. C.T. Vivian, CDR chairman named in the libel suit, said, "I've been beaten, shot at and arrested many times trying to secure basic rights for African-Americans. If Brown thinks we're going to back away from Blakely's people because of a lawsuit...he hasn't seen anything yet."

We will not be intimidated."

The libel suit names the Center for Democratic Renewal as well as both Levitas and Vivian. The suit also names three members of the Blakely Concerned Black Citizens who are plaintiffs in the civil rights action — Benjamin Cawthon, Wilbur Robinson and Willie Cawthon.

It also names a white former city councilman, David Griffin, who first



Franklin Brown is the chief of the Blakely fire department.

broke the silence about Klan activity in the fire department. Also named in Brown's far flung lawsuit were foundations who have supported the CDR's attempt to help bring justice to Blakely. The lawsuit also named CDR media consultant Charles Fulwood of Geneva Communications, an African-American firm.

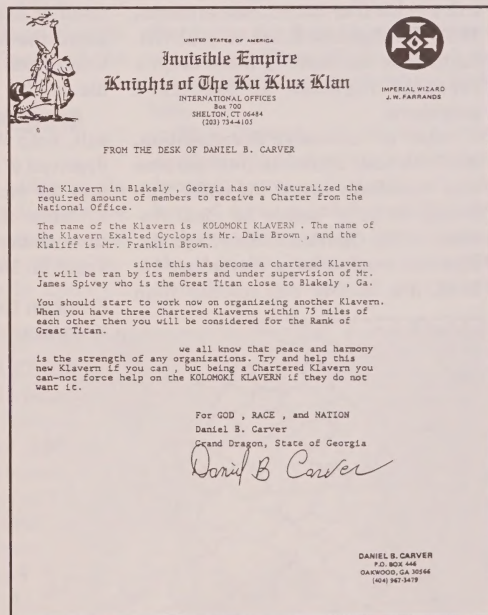
Spears, who has tried five previous actions against the Klan, said, "I have never seen such compelling evidence of Klan membership as we have established in this case. One element of proof of Brown's Klan membership is obviously the letter from Klan headquarters. But we have more and the actual evidence will be presented in court."

Brown's libel suit contends that evidence of his Klan membership is part of a hoax fabricated by former councilman Griffin. Brown's suit also charges that Invisible

Empire Klan state leader Daniel Carver and a Blakely Klansman, Charles Weatherford, engaged in an elaborate conspiracy with the CDR to defame Brown.

Griffin, who blew the whistle on Brown's Klan membership, said, "This is a moral issue that transcends petty politics. I knew that to tell the truth in this town would be difficult, but I know that we have done the right thing."

Benjamin Cawthon, president of the Concerned Black Citizens Committee, was accused of political "grandstanding" by Brown. "We are struggling to bring Blakely into the 1990s and won't be kept back," said Cawthon. "We are standing all right, standing up for our rights." □



Copy of letter from Invisible Empire Georgia state leader Daniel Carver chartering a local Klavern in Blakely. In the letter Carver appoints fire chief Franklin Brown as Klaliff, similar to chapter vice-president. Brown's son, Dale, was appointed as exalted cyclops, or chapter president. Pam Brown, Dale's wife, was appointed secretary-treasurer. Klan membership is clear evidence of "racial animus."

Blakely

(From page 1)

reminder that many communities are mired in the remains of Jim Crow racism. But the battle is not simply to bring Blakely into the "New South." Across the country, in small towns and big cities alike, racism is a force in public policy. In Blakely it is a matter of life and death.

Small Children Have Died, Homes Burned

CDR investigators have uncovered several different instances where African-Americans have not received equal services from the fire department. In each case families have unnecessarily lost property. But on at least two occasions tragic deaths have resulted.

Antavious Williams, a six-year-old child, died of smoke inhalation during a fire in his four-room home in March 1987. Firefighters failed to pull Williams from the burning home despite repeated requests by concerned neighbors.

After an extensive investigation, the CDR took affidavits from persons who repeatedly heard the child "hollering for help" before he died. Another child, Charles McCoy, age six, died one week after a November 15, 1986, fire. McCoy was rescued from

Plaintiffs show to the Court that the Fire Department of Blakely, Georgia, is under the control of and operated by current and past members of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan...As Chief of the Fire Department of the City of Blakely, Georgia, Franklin Brown has at all times pertinent hereto been the final policy maker with respect to providing fire service protection...has at all times hereto had functional authority with respect to decisions pertaining to hiring of fire services personnel and...has caused to be hired other members of the Invisible Empire...

the fire by a neighbor. Although severely burned, McCoy was alert and alive when fire personnel arrived at the scene. The fire chief ordered the McCoy child sprayed with water from a fire hose, contributing to his death.

According to the civil rights lawsuit, both Williams and McCoy were deprived of equal fire services protection "by virtue of racial animus." As evidence of racism the lawsuit cites the membership of Blakely Fire Chief Franklin Brown in the Klan.

Franklin Brown and the KKK Kolomoki Klavern

Fire Chief Franklin Brown was appointed an officer of the local Klan chapter, probably sometime in 1989, according to a letter from Georgia state Klan leader Daniel Carver. Brown's son Dale Brown and Dale's wife, Pam, were also officers.

Pam and Dale Brown appear to have joined the local Klan group in the mid-80s. Firefighters Randall Mercer and James Bryan Hall are also members of the Klavern.

The CDR estimates that there are two to three dozen Klan members in Early County.

The local Blakely Klan chapter is

affiliated with the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the largest and most violent of the national Klan factions (see background article on page 7).

The Georgia state chapter helped lead a racist assault on a small march in Forsyth County commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday anniversary in 1987. The same Klan faction attacked SCLC demonstrators in Decatur, Alabama, in 1979.

In addition, individual Invisible Empire members have been convicted of racist attacks across

Georgia ever since.

The Invisible Empire recently moved its national headquarters from Connecticut to North Carolina (see article on page 10) and has renewed its commitment to building a white supremacist movement in the South. Despite the convictions of Invisible Empire members for criminal violence and civil rights violations, they remain a potent and dangerous force in Georgia communities.

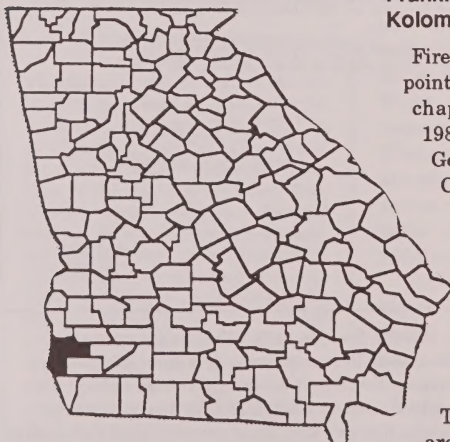
The CDR believes in meeting this danger with a combination of aggressive legal action and community organizing.

According to CDR executive director Dan Levitas, "Even a small group of Klansmen, when placed in a position of public trust and responsibility, can create terror and fear. We cannot let that situation continue one minute longer in Blakely."

Lawsuit Filed for Justice

The civil rights lawsuit was filed in Federal Court in Albany on June 28. According to Brian Spears, an Atlanta civil rights attorney who has been involved in Klan cases five times previously, "civil rights law is firmly established in this area. The evidence is some of the strongest I've ever seen in a Klan case. I don't have the slightest doubt that we shall prevail."

The suit names Franklin Brown both as an individual and in his offi-



Blakely is located 197 miles south of Atlanta.



LEFT: CDR vice-chair Rev. Mac Charles Jones leads a "freedom revival" in Blakely the night before the lawsuit was filed. ABOVE: Local church and community leaders shared the dais with Jones.

cial capacity as fire chief. The suit also names Blakely Mayor Guy Dunaway and members of the city council in their official capacities.

CDR investigators discovered that Blakely's mayor and members of the city council were informed of Brown's Klan membership in the Fall of 1989. They did not take appropriate actions at that time and the suit charges them with operating a "public nuisance" in violation of Georgia state law.

Because of the council's failure to act, the suit also asks for "injunctive relief" to prevent the city and fire department from imposing "unequal fire protection services" on the African-American community.

The suit also asks the court for a monetary award in the death of Antavious Williams.

Plaintiffs in the suit are Charles McCoy's mother, Sara Ann McCoy; Antavious Williams's estate; his mother, Hattie Williams; and members of the Concerned Black Citizens Committee — Benjamin Cawthon, Wilbur Robinson and Willie Cawthon. The suit charges the plaintiffs "suf-

fered deprivations of their

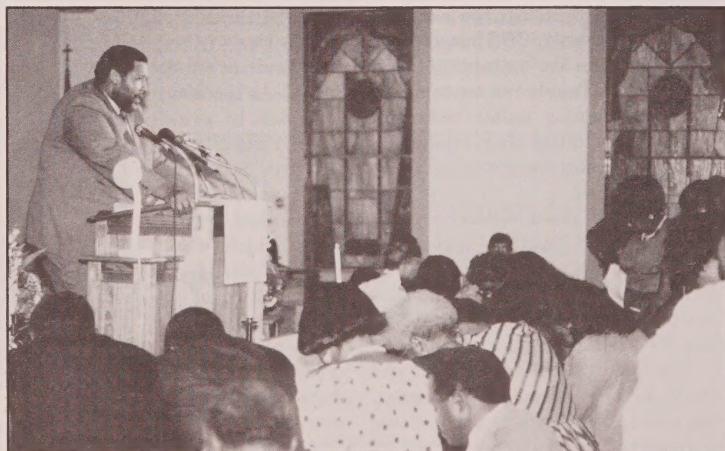
Plight of African-Americans in Early County

Constitution."

Blakely, population 6,000, is the seat for Early County, deep in the heart of southwest Georgia's peanut country. According to the 1980 Census, 43 percent of Early County's

13,000-plus people are African-American. Over 17 percent of the county works in agriculture or forestry and 25 percent of the households live below the federal minimum poverty level. Over 10 percent of the homes lack complete plumbing facilities.

This disparity stands as a stark emblem of the type of racism practiced in small towns with significant numbers of African-Americans. Blakely's at-large voting system has prevented the African-American community from being represented on the city



Community members kneel in prayer at conclusion of Blakely service.



Housing conditions in parts of Blakely's black community.

(Continued from Page 5)

council. There is a similar lack of representation in the county school system. Sixty-two percent of the students are African-American, but only 24 percent of the teachers are. Only four of the 23 school professionals are African-American. Of the five Early County school board members, only one is African-American.

The Community Organizes

The formation of the Concerned Black Citizens of Blakely sparked an ongoing effort to change the racism in the city and county. CDR has assisted this effort from the beginning.

After 300 Blakely residents signed petitions claiming unfair treatment by the city utilities they attended a meeting to voice their complaints to the city council.

Concerned Black Citizens president Benjamin Cawthon said at the time, "We have elderly people cut off from everything — no heat, no electricity, no water — people are suffering. We need some policies changed."

The Concerned Black Citizens and the N.A.A.C.P. are currently circulating a petition calling for proportional representation on the county school board, proportional hiring of adminis-

trators and proportional hiring of teachers to bring an end to racism in the school district.

On April 30 the Concerned Black Citizens filed a voting rights lawsuit against the City of Blakely charging a long history of racial discrimination enforced by at-large voting districts. Wilbur Robinson, Concerned Black Citizens vice-president, told the press "every institution in our community is controlled by white people. All we are asking for is equal treatment and respect."

The CDR assisted with the voting rights suit, as did the ACLU. As the *Monitor* goes to press, Blakely city officials, fearing defeat in court, are seeking a negotiated settlement which would make it possible for at least two of the four city council seats to be elected from the African-American community.

Already white residents have

joined in the effort to bring justice to Blakely. Former city council member David Griffin initially brought Brown's Klan membership to the attention of officials last November. "I thought the Klan was known for starting fires, not putting them out," said Griffin of the Klan-fire department connections. "Something must be done to right this wrong."

But the CDR expects the civil rights lawsuit and community organizing to grow increasingly difficult. Members of the Concerned Black Citizens and other activists can expect retaliation and censorship from other Blakely residents.

CDR board vice-chair, the Rev. Mac Charles Jones, warned those attending a June 27 Freedom Revival at Blakely's Wesley Chapel AME Church that they would face hard choices in the future.

"Some of you will want to go back to the old ways, submitting to Pharaoh's new form of slavery. Some of you will not know which way to turn — the sea on one side, Pharaoh's approaching army on another, mountains to your left and desert to your right. Some of you will accuse your leaders of leading you into a cul-de-sac from which there is no escape. But you can't go back...You have to move forward to freedom. If you pursue this to the end you can break the back of racism in Blakely." □



Blakely plaintiffs Ben Cawthon, Sara Ann McCoy (whose son died in a fire) and Ms. McCoy's mother, right, meet the press after filing of the lawsuit.

New report on Invisible Empire Klan details history of violence, secret constitution

The CDR has issued a 25-page booklet detailing the history, ideology, and structure of the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Included is a special section on racist violence by Invisible Empire members and significant court cases involving the organization.

The report quotes extensively from the Kloran, the secret Klan constitution. According to Klan by-laws, Klansmen are only allowed to read the Kloran, not to own one. This report is an excellent educational resource for anyone interested in the Klan, as well as an important tool for human rights advocates organizing in their communities.

Background Report #8: The Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Blakely, Georgia is the latest in a CDR series of background reports covering topics such as *David Duke and the Populist Party; Tom Metzger and the White Aryan Resistance; and racist organizing in the Pacific Northwest.* The following text is excerpted from **Background Report #8**. The full report is available for \$5.00 from CDR; P.O. Box 50469; Atlanta, GA 30302.

The Invisible Empire In Blakely, Georgia

The CDR has identified Klan activity in Blakely, Georgia with the KKK faction known as the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Since its formation in the mid-70s, this particular Klan faction has been one of the largest, most visible and most violent white supremacist organizations in the United States.

• On January 17, 1987, a small march in Forsyth County, Georgia commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday was attacked by Invisible Empire members, along with other racists. After the assault, Daniel Carver, state leader of the In-

visible Empire, recorded a phone message claiming that politics had not kept African-Americans out of Forsyth County, but that rocks, bottles, guns and the "grace of God" had. Carver and other Invisible Empire leaders were sued by the marchers for damages. Although the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the civil suit convictions, Carver has not paid his personal liability from the lawsuit.

• Four members of the Georgia Invisible Empire were convicted of beating interracial couples in November 1982, and again in February 1983. The Invisible Empire invaded the home of an interracial couple in Tallapoosa, Georgia, in 1983, severely beating Warren Cokely.

• In May 1981, Mississippi Invisible Empire member George Malvane pleaded guilty to attempting to overthrow the government of Dominica along with other Klansmen and neo-Nazis.

• Invisible Empire member Gladys Girgenti was convicted of conspiring to blow up a Nashville, Tenn., synagogue in 1981.

• Invisible Empire members Ricky Creekmore and Charles Puckett pleaded guilty to attacking African-American ministers in Muscle Shoals, Ala. on October 29, 1979.

• Invisible Empire members

were found guilty of conspiring to violently block a civil rights demonstration in Decatur, Ala. on May 26, 1979. Members of the Invisible Empire attacked the participants in a civil rights march organized by the Southern Christian Leadership conference; that attack left three African-Americans and two Klansmen wounded by gunfire and five police officers injured. It also prompted the establishment of the National Anti-Klan Network, later the Center for Democratic Renewal.

The Invisible Empire formed as a distinct organization in 1975 when Bill Wilkinson left David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Wilkinson solicited memberships (and money) from Connecticut to California and from Washington state to Florida. In a quote that was repeated across the country Wilkinson bragged about the guns his members carried at rallies. "These guns aren't for killing rabbits, they're to waste people."

In September 1986 James Farrands became the national leader of the Invisible Empire. Farrands gained instant notoriety as the first Catholic and the first Northerner to lead a national Klan organization. In February 1990 Farrands moved to North Carolina, re-establishing the

(Continued to Page 8)

Background
Report #8

The Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Blakely, Georgia

Published by the

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(Continued from Page 7)

Invisible Empire's commitment to a Southern base.

Since Farrands's ascendancy the Invisible Empire has increasingly cooperated with neo-Nazi Klan factions. It has publicly embraced the ideology of "Christian Identity." The Invisible Empire has attempted to recruit neo-Nazi skinheads to its ranks, achieving some success.

Since the early '80s, white supremacist groups, including Klan groups, have turned increasingly to the radical, even revolutionary, ideology of national socialism (Nazism). Their vision of a future all-white, Christian society has replaced the revanchist dream of a return to Jim Crow segregation. Instead of a call for "law and order" and "support for local police," new groups talk openly of overthrowing the government and attacking law enforcement. The Invisible Empire, however, has been torn between these new developments and its origins as a militant, even violent, proponent of "conservatism."

In 1990, only 25 percent of active organized white supremacists are members of Klan groups — approximately 5,500 Klan members out of 20,000 white supremacists. The Center for Democratic Renewal estimates that only 1,500 to 2,000 of them are members of the Invisible Empire Klan.

Despite an overall decline of membership since its heyday in the late 1970s, the Invisible Empire remains a dangerous, anti-democratic force. Klan members continue to use violence to harass and intimidate their perceived enemies. □

Join the CDR Today

Join CDR by Sept. 1 and receive a free copy of the Report on the Invisible Empire. See page 15.

Membership dues must be received by Sept. 1. Send \$30 to CDR; P.O. Box 50469; Atlanta, GA 30302.

Georgia state court rules Klan a persecuted group; CDR files amicus brief on appeal

According to a Gwinnett County, Georgia, judge, the Klan is a persecuted group and Klansmen should be able to wear masks in public in order to protect their identities. The ruling was part of a decision that a 1951 Georgia anti-mask law violated the First Amendment and was unconstitutional. Gwinnett County officials are appealing the ruling and a hearing before the State Supreme Court is slated for September.

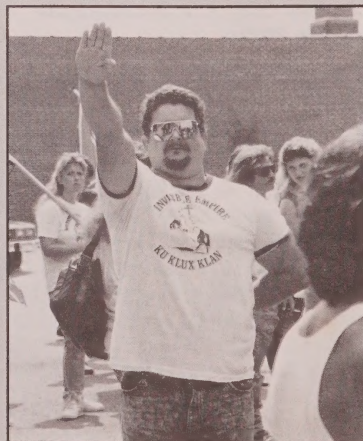
Last February, Shade Miller violated the law with the intention of testing its constitutionality before the courts. Miller is a member of the Invisible Empire Klan, which has suffered serious setbacks in recent years. In July, Invisible Empire state leader Daniel Carver was sentenced to 30 days in jail for making terroristic threats in a case dating back to 1986. The Georgia Invisible Empire was also found guilty of violating the civil rights of marchers commemorating the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Forsyth County in 1987. The conviction carried monetary damages and has made it difficult, but not impossible, for the Invisible Empire to recruit new members in Georgia.

The Klan argued that the anti-mask law was a barrier to recruitment because new members would not be able to remain anonymous. Georgia Klan groups, however, have had two periods of rapid growth since the statute was enacted in 1951.

In the late fifties and early sixties the Klan grew as a violent attempt to prevent the abolition of Jim Crow segregation. Again, in the late seventies, Klan groups grew in Georgia as part of a racist backlash to the gains African-Americans had made. "The anti-mask law did not prevent the Klan's growth then and it is not responsible for the Klan's decline now," said CDR chair Rev. C.T. Vivian.

"The CDR filed a 'friend of the court' brief supporting the existing statute because we believe that Judge Cook's decision must be overturned. It sets a dangerous precedent. The Klan is not a persecuted group," continued Vivian. "It is a *persecuting* group."

In 1985 Judge Johnstone of Louisville, Kentucky took judicial notice of the Ku Klux Klan "as a violence-prone group with a history of harassing, intimidating and injuring blacks and members of other minority groups." He cited a 1985 decision by the 11th Circuit Court that "there is uncontroverted evidence that violent racism has become the Klan's hallmark and has not subsided to any special extent since the Klan's founding..."



Klansman Shade Miller without his mask.

Populists seek Duke repeat —

Hard-core racists dominate NC meeting

The Populist Party held its annual national committee meeting torn between its role as a small splinter party on the far right and its members who run for office as Republicans. Tirades against "race mixing" were followed by speeches on the mechanics of gaining ballot access.

Party leaders urged their members to re-create the glories of George Wallace's independent campaign for president in 1968 and castigated the Republicans, who "only wanted us to go out and beat the bushes for their patrician candidates while they drink down at the Country Club."

On the other hand, the Populist Party's two most successful candidates have campaigned as Republicans.

Nevertheless, an Aryan Nations lawyer, a Tennessee white supremacist and a Louisiana neo-Nazi were among the speakers at the May 26 meeting in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

At the same time party officials claim to be anti-tax and pro-U.S. Constitution. But National Democratic Front leader Gary Gallo told the assembly that, "I am a White Nationalist...I certainly feel no commitment to the Constitution."

Gallo wasn't the only openly racist speaker. James Warner bellowed to the crowd, "We need candidates running for office, Populists or Republicans nationwide, who will bring our people out of the woodwork...The white race is going to go to the top." Warner, a former leader in the American Nazi Party and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was a David Duke delegate at the Louisiana state Republican Party convention last January.

Don Black, a member of the Party's national executive committee, also sounded support for Duke's 1990 campaign. "If David Duke wins the U.S. Senate race in Louisiana, then other states will fall like dominoes...If

he wins it will light a fire across America. The white majority will take our country back." Black was given the national leadership of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan by David Duke in 1980 when Duke left the Klan. Two years later Black was jailed for trying to overthrow the government of the Caribbean island of Dominica.

Duke is a Republican this year but in 1988 he entered the Democratic primaries on Super Tuesday and ran in the general election as the Populist Party's presidential candidate.

The Populist Party is fielding its own candidates this year in New Jersey, Florida, Colorado, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. Most of the candidates are political unknowns and lack Duke's sophisticated campaign style and media savvy. In addition, Populist Party candidates are saddled with the two-party tradition which makes both ballot access and votes harder to achieve as a third party.

Other racists, like Duke, are jumping from the Populist Party to the Republican or Democratic Party. Duke's 1988 campaign manager, Ralph Forbes, ran for Lt. Governor in Arkansas' Republican primary. Forbes received 33,000 votes in the first round, 46 percent of the vote. But he received only 14 percent of the vote two weeks later in the runoff against a conservative African-American Republican. Before joining the Populist Party, Forbes was a member of both the American Nazi Party and the Klan. He was also Arkansas state chairman for the Populists before joining the Republicans.

Other white supremacists are seeking to disguise themselves either as Democrats or Republicans during the 1990 elections.

• Former National Alliance member John Nugent is running in the Republican primary for U.S. Congress in Tennessee. The National Alliance is a hard-core neo-Nazi outfit, but

Nugent spent time learning the election ropes by working in Duke's Louisiana campaign.

• Roger Kelly, currently Maryland Grand Dragon for the Invisible Empire Klan, is running for Frederick County commissioner as a Democrat in the Sept. 11 primary. Edgar Harris Jr., a former Klansman, is running for the Frederick County Democratic Party Central Committee in the same Sept. 11 election.

• Warren Folks, an avowed "Christian patriot" whose campaign literature contains reprints from neo-Nazi newspapers, is running as a Republican for Florida state senator from Jacksonville.

Although it has grown in recent years, the Populist Party remains plagued by its marginal political status. It only has approximately 2,500 members and a cash budget of less than \$200,000. Don Wassall, the executive director, remains its only full time paid staff member.

David Duke, on the other hand, has raised \$1.1 million in 1990 for his U.S. Senate campaign. Most polls show him with about 25 percent of the vote, but experts agree his support is probably undercounted. He is running a sophisticated campaign with television advertising and large direct mail operations. He has developed a core of young activists at universities in the state to support his campaign. He has also attracted old-line segregationists such as former Congressman John Rarick, who heads Duke's campaign in Bogalusa.

Duke has disavowed his neo-Nazi youth and his former Klan leadership. He claims to be a faithful Republican Party member, and in 1989 the Louisiana Republican Party state central committee defeated a motion to censure him. But Duke has built his support by open appeals to racism and he has continued to maintain his belief in the basic tenets of white supremacy. □

Is North Carolina #1 Southeast trouble zone?

Klan and Neo-Nazi Groups Remain Active

By Mab Segrest

North Carolina remains a hotspot for white supremacist activity, competing with Florida and Georgia as the number one trouble zone in the Southeast.

Since James Farrands moved the headquarters of the Invisible Empire to Sanders, North Carolina, the state has become the headquarters for two of the three largest national Klan groups. Other Klan, neo-Nazi and racist skinhead organizations are also active in the state. In addition, the far right Populist Party, which held its annual national meeting in Winston-Salem, selected a resident of Clemmons as its new national chairman.

North Carolina still bears the scars from the murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators by a caravan of Klansmen and neo-Nazis in 1979. Racist violence in the state is high and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force reported that North Carolina was the top state for reported incidents of gaybashing for the fourth year in a row.

No leader or organization has emerged with the power of Glenn Miller and the White Patriot Party since Miller was jailed, although several have tried. Miller and the White Patriots were busted in a series of federal actions beginning in 1986, after which his organization disbanded and its leadership dispersed.

Patriot party leader Stephen Miller is in jail in Tallahassee on a federal weapons charge. Other mem-

bers Douglas Sheet and "Jack" Jackson are in Leavenworth prison on federal charges resulting from their flight underground with Glenn Miller in 1987. Sheet was acquitted last year of first degree murder charges in an attack on an adult bookstore in Shelby in 1987. But Tony Wydra, Jackson's younger brother, was shot — supposedly accidentally — by a Marine during an automobile ride with Cecil Cox in January of 1989. Cox, who took over the White Patriots briefly after Miller

was convicted, was recently indicted for murder in another killing incident in Florida.

Other national leaders have either moved to North Carolina or emerged, attempting to fill the vacuum and rally Miller's former troops. Harold Covington, a National Socialist Party leader involved in the 1979 Klan-Nazi murders, returned to the state from Ireland in 1987, while Miller was in jail. Covington wrote *The March Up-country*, a handbook for the white

John Tyndall poses for photo in front of swastika with picture of Adolph Hitler. Tyndall is an unabashed Hitlerite.



COURTESY OF SEARCHLIGHT

British Neo-Nazi barred entry to North Carolina

The Populist Party convention's featured speaker was refused entry to the U.S. when he tried to land at the international airport in Charlotte, N.C. John Tyndall, a leading British neo-Nazi, was also scheduled to speak at Populist Party meetings in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and at racist events in Canada. Instead he flew back to England on the next plane. Prior to the Populist Party's meeting both the CDR and the London-based *Searchlight* magazine issued statements asking that Tyndall be barred from the U.S. because of his criminal convictions.

Tyndall was first convicted in 1959 of threatening behavior outside a memorial meeting for the Jewish Warsaw Ghetto uprising. He was convicted of bigoted crimes again in 1962, 1966 and 1967. In 1986 he was sent to prison for violating England's Race Relations Act. Today he leads the British National Party.

Mab Segrest is the research director for North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence. Segrest has written widely about human rights. She is also a member of the CDR's board of directors.

revolution, and started the Confederate National Congress. But he left North Carolina abruptly last Spring, in the middle of a campaign for state representative.

Covington came into conflict with another North Carolina neo-Nazi, Ben Klassen. Klassen, who is in his eighties, is a former Florida legislator who runs a small encampment in the southwest corner of the state. From there he preaches a Hitlerite religion. His newest recruits are skinheads. But the primary racist religion remains Identity. An Identity directory published in Indiana lists 13 different groups in North Carolina.

Virgil Griffin, indicted but never convicted in the 1979 murders, organized the Christian Knights in 1985 and assumed its national leadership. Christian Knights pledged to march through every town and city in the state, and most weekends a handful of robed Klanspeople walk down the streets of a couple of towns handing out literature if there are spectators.

Terry Boyce of Huntersville broke off from Griffin and formed the Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in early 1989, then joined up later in the year with Covington under the banner of the Confederate Knights of America. Boyce has cultivated skinheads in nearby Charlotte, and the SS (Skinhead Security) Skins of Charlotte have served as security for Klan events. Skinhead violence has not surfaced in North Carolina yet, as it has in many other states.

Some Klan activity is covert. The Confederate Knights of America's publication, *Battle Flag*, carried news of white supremacist organizing in two cities to defeat city council resolutions for a King holiday and to rename a street for King. In both cases, Klan organizing was hidden. As Covington editorialized, "David (Mehus, unit leader in Fayetteville) and all of his associates would have been absolutely useless had they gotten up and publicly identified themselves as Klansmen — Instead, our race won a victory."

When the *Battle Flag* article came to the attention of a reporter in Fay-

etteville, Mehus tried to repudiate his Klan ties. "I came to reject anything reeking of extremism," he told Pat Reese of the *Fayetteville Observer*. "I'm going to have to move if this is printed in Fayetteville."

The Populist Party has also emerged as an organizing focus for the far right in North Carolina. The Populists held a statewide meeting in February 1990, attended by 175 people, according to the *Populist Observer*, to listen to national Populist leadership and discuss the "nationalist movement's" reaction to events in Eastern Europe. Buoyed by the success of this event, the Populists returned to North Carolina in late May for their national convention.

But that event drew only 60 to 90 participants due to negative publicity generated by NCARRV and CDR.

A.J. Barker, long-time white supremacist leader in North Carolina, was elevated to the chairmanship of the national Populist Party at the May conclave. Barker explained that North Carolina has the third or fourth highest number of party members. Two white supremacists from North Carolina, Jeff Cartrett of Whiteville

North Carolina group works against bigotry and hate

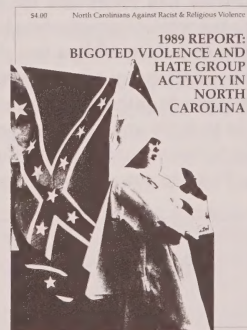
Since its formation in 1983, North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence (NCARRV) has been a leader of activity to end bigoted violence. On July 7-8, NCARRV organized a statewide conference to develop a strategy for ending homophobic violence in North Carolina. Later in the month NCARRV hosted a teen summit on bigotry.

From the beginning NCARRV has combined careful monitoring of hate group activity with community organizing. In 1985 NCARRV organizer Christina Davis-McCoy helped Iredell County residents form an interracial coalition to speak out against racist attacks in their community. After public pressure and an educational campaign by NCARRV and CDR, the U.S. Department of Justice indicted 21 Klan members. The arrests quieted Klan activity in the Iredell County area. Davis-McCoy is now NCARRV's coordinator, overseeing a staff of four.

NCARRV has also supported changes in North Carolina's policy towards hate groups — including an enlarged effort by the state's Human Relations Commission and stronger anti-paramilitary legislation.

Each February NCARRV's research and publications director, Mab Segrest, has prepared a report on the state's bigoted violence and hate group activity for the previous year. Davis-McCoy and Segrest both agree that NCARRV has not been able to end Klan and neo-Nazi violence altogether. But NCARRV is now a powerful force in North Carolina and the most successful model of statewide organizing against racism, anti-semitism and homophobia.

NCARRV can be contacted at P.O. Box 240; Durham, NC 27702. (919) 688-5965.



and Wayne Honeycutt of Chatham County, spoke during the program. Both are active in the North Carolina Populist Party.

James Farrands, national leader of the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, moved to Sanford, North Carolina, from Connecticut in February of 1990, probably hoping to

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South African whites want 'new homelands'

Find support among U.S. racists

By Michael Phillips

Nelson Mandela's June tour highlighted the winds of change blowing through his native country. At the same time, hard core racists in both the U.S. and South Africa are trying to thwart efforts to destroy apartheid.

The CDR believes that as change becomes inevitable, white supremacists in South Africa will seek to build a larger base of support in the U.S. Far right activists in this country are already enlisted in their cause.

Recent reconciliation moves by de Klerk's government include the release of Mandela and other political prisoners; the un-banning of the ANC and other political organizations; and lifting the 1986 State of Emergency in all provinces except the Natal. At the same time, the right wing in both countries has redoubled its effort to keep the white supremacists in power.

Conservative whites feel de Klerk betrayed them by releasing Mandela. They plan to gather one million signatures to force another election, which they believe could put the Conservative Party in power. The Conservative

Party was formed in 1982 after breaking with the Nationalist Party of former president P.W. Botha.

The Conservative Party's leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, reportedly left Botha's party to protest its "integrationist drift." Conservatives gained 18 seats in the last elections. They have strong support in rural platteland communities and mining towns across the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Another extreme right-wing group, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, shares the Conservative's support by blue collar workers, farmers, and civil servants.

Don McAlvany and U.S. Conservatives

U.S. Conservative leaders Howard Phillips, head of the Conservative Caucus, and Don McAlvany, who writes commentary for John Birch Society publications and a newsletter on southern Africa, have been organizing support for the apartheid government.

Both have led several trips to South Africa where participants meet with leaders of the ruling Nationalist Party, top businessmen, military and intelligence officials. Phillips received money from at least one registered lobbyist tied to South Africa.

He denies any ties to the racist Conservative Party but extensively quotes its leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht. Both men were active in failed efforts to defeat the Namibian accord.

McAlvany hides his support for racism behind anti-communist rhetoric and even recommends survivalist tactics in his newsletter. In the June issue he advises people to store food, buy guns and pray as a way to deal with financial crisis.

Birch Society Anti-Communism

In the April issue of the Birch Society's *New American* magazine, McAlvany writes about the "sellout"

in South Africa, arguing that the current transition is not only to "black rule" but also to "non-racial Marxist/Leninist communist rule."

He believes the release of Mandela is a major defeat for millions of South African whites and moderate blacks. In a twist of logic, he claims it is also a psychological and symbolic victory for the leftists around the world and the U.S. State Department.

McAlvany is a leader of the John Birch Society, which carried out its own campaign against Mandela during his tour. The Birch Society criticized Mandela and the ANC in full page newspaper ads in each city Mandela visited.

The JBS also sponsored a parallel tour by Tamsanqa Linda. Linda, a former mayor of the Ibhayi township, spent ten days denouncing Mandela and the ANC.

Linda, who is black, is also a member of the Eastern Province Council Association and the United Christian Conciliation Party. He charged the ANC with stopping other anti-apartheid groups from negotiating with the government. The Birch Society and McAlvany view the racist government actions as a "willing surrender" rather than the result of international isolation and economic sanctions.

Sanctions

The South African economy has suffered greatly from its isolation in the international community. Sanctions have caused mass unemployment among all sectors of the country and caused many whites to leave. De Klerk's reforms are aimed at easing sanctions. The pillars of apartheid, however, are still in place despite the repeal of some laws.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is the leading opponent of sanctions among black South Africans.

He is the leader of South Africa's 6.4 million Zulus and darling of the right wing in both South Africa and the U.S., and has been a major oppo-

News clips wanted

CDR relies on its network of friends — particularly Monitor readers — to send newspaper clippings and other written accounts of racist and far-right activities. Send clips on Klan, neo-Nazis, skinheads, Moonies, American Freedom Coalition, Aryan Nations, Identity churches, etc., to CDR, PO Box 50469, Atlanta, GA. 30302-0469.

nent of the ANC's leadership in South Africa.

Reader's Digest's David Reed wrote an article criticizing sanctions because sanctions supposedly hurt South African blacks more than anyone else. The article failed to note that apartheid still denies blacks basic human rights, despite reforms.

Sanctions are still regarded as an essential part of anti-apartheid strategy. Both Bush and Britain's Margaret Thatcher are looking to relax sanctions as soon as is politically possible. Mandela's tour kept the pressure high and the European Community has maintained economic sanctions.

Anti-apartheid activists anxious for change need to remember that Namibia, the U.N. and South Africa signed a treaty in 1978, but freedom did not come to Namibia until 12 years later. The beginning of negotiations is not the end of apartheid.

Whites Want New Partition Plan

The South African Conservative Party has held mass rallies supporting a partition plan that would create a white homeland consisting of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The American-Afrikaner Union, based in Alexandria, Va., is backing the plan. AAU chairman Robert J. Hoy is active in neo-Nazi circles across the U.S. and Europe. He was a paid staffer for David Duke in Louisiana and published a book of photography of British neo-Nazis, *We are the National Front*.

A group of whites, the Society of Orange Workers, has moved to the tiny eastern village of Morgenzon in an attempt to establish an all-white territory. Hendrik Verwoerd Jr., director of the Orange Workers, told the Associated Press that the group "was not interested in dominating black workers or anyone else."

"We want a territory exclusively for the Afrikaners where we can lead our own way of life," said Verwoerd, whose father was prime minister from 1958-1966 and architect of "grand apartheid." He established 10 black homelands on 13 percent of South Africa's country and left the remaining 87 per-

cent for whites. Verwoerd believes white dependence on black labor is partly responsible for the crumbling of apartheid. He fears black domination unless whites become more self-sufficient. Many whites, however, fear they cannot survive without exploiting black labor.

Other Boer nationalist groups that advocate a separate white homeland are: the Boerestaat Party, Die Afrikaner Volks Weg, Blanke Bevydingsbeweging, and the Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

AWB Terrorism

But the most dangerous of these groups is the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), led by neo-Nazi Eugene Terre'Blanche. He has drawn thousands to recent rallies, encouraging whites to arm themselves and to prepare for "holy war" with blacks. He has told reporters that whites would never submit to rule by a "black government." The AWB has set up commando training for whites.

Other violent fringe groups, including the White Wolves and the Order of Death, are rumored to be plotting the death of both de Klerk and Mandela.

On June 21, eleven whites were arrested in Johannesburg for planning to kill Mandela, de Klerk and South African Communist Party leader, Joe Slovo. Both government officials and businessmen were primary targets.

The South African weekly *Vrye Weekblad* broke the story. They quoted an informer who was approached by the paramilitary AWB last February. The group had plans to blow up power plants, a soccer stadium and set fire to supermarkets in an attempt to create a right-wing coup. The men were held for 48 hours and released by police. The arrests set off speculation that the men could be part of a larger plan to block de Klerk's moves away from apartheid.

U.S. White Supremacists Support South African Counterparts

Joining Hoy and the AAU in support of apartheid are a range of far right organizations in the U.S. Some,

such as the monthly magazine *Instaurator*, support apartheid for explicitly racist reasons. "Thoughts from the White Tip" editorials accuse the Bush administration of selling out Pretoria. *Instaurator*, like the South African Conservative Party, believes Pretoria is on a collision course for destruction because of the limited reforms introduced by the de Klerk government. But the magazine argues less about the terrors of "ANC communism" and worries more about the threat to the "white race." □

North Carolina is trouble zone

(Continued from Page 11)

consolidate his increasingly visible Klan empire in North Carolina. The Invisible Empire was the fastest growing Klan group in the state in 1989, with rallies that drew up to 150 people (down considerably from the 350 troops Glenn Miller was able to muster in the heyday of the White Patriots).

Farrands bought an 83-acre tract near Sanford with cash, property valued at \$375,000. Greg Beckett, who also lives in Sanford, is the vice-president under Farrands. George Byerly moved into Southmont in Davidson County, explaining it would be the Klan "control center" for the state and predicting "cross lightings," marches, education and recruitment drives in the county.

In the midst of this far right organizing, North Carolina continues to report high numbers of hate incidents. Last year the state had its first recorded case of anti-Asian violence, the murder of Jim Loo, a Chinese man attacked by two white brothers in a bar because the men "didn't like Vietnamese." Robert Piche, one of the attackers, was found guilty of second degree murder and sentenced to 37 years this spring. NCARRV's 1989 report carried 51 such incidents, showing a steady increase from 31 in 1985. □

News and Briefs

Young people defend against Nazi skins

The Coalition for Human Dignity in Portland, Ore., in conjunction with Anti-Racist Action, Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice and others formed a Community Defense Project to counter the continuing violence of neo-Nazi skinheads in the metropolitan area.

The Coalition issued a report on the Project, detailing continued neo-Nazi activity because many of the racist groups have changed their names to hide their identities. CDR executive director Dan Levitas told a June 22 "summit meeting" sponsored by Portland's Metropolitan Human Rights Commission that 200 neo-Nazi skins are active in the area.

Montana Human Rights Network forms

Representatives from local human rights groups in over six communities have formed a Montana Human Rights Network to coordinate their efforts across the state. After a successful conference in May they decided to press for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday anniversary to be observed as a state holiday and increased multi-cultural training for teachers, including Indian studies. The new Network expressed its concern about gaybashing in Montana and human rights protection.

National Gay-Lesbian Task Force report

The NGLTF issued their report on homophobic violence and defamation during 1989. They documented a total of 7,031 incidents: 75 incidents were directed at Metropolitan Community Churches; 385 incidents of vandalism; 330 incidents were police abuse; and there were 62 homicides. AIDS hysteria continued to be a motivating

factor and 1,078 of the incidents were reported to be "AIDS related." The NGLTF also reported that anti-gay violence is only proscribed in 10 of the 23 states (and D.C.) that have hate crime laws.

Multi-Cultural Education conference held

CDR Chair Rev. C.T. Vivian gave the keynote address to the "Third Annual National Conference on Racial and Ethnic Relations in American Higher Education" sponsored by the Southwest Center for Human Relations of the University of Oklahoma. Over 1,000 university administrators, faculty and students attended the conference, a reflection of the increased awareness of bigotry on college campuses.

Justice Department establishes hotline

The Community Relations Service of the U.S. Dept of Justice has set up

a phone line to receive reports of hate violence. Callers reporting homophobic violence had problems initially, but the service is reportedly working smoothly at present. Call 1-800-347-HATE to report incidents.

Canadians respond to racist attacks

The Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudices and the Anti-Fascist League of Montreal jointly sponsored a May 15 community meeting to protest ongoing attacks by racist skinheads. More than 100 people attended despite death threats and a bomb scare at a nearby subway station. In Ottawa, 1,000 people gathered to protest the desecration of two Jewish cemeteries.

University cuts ties to eugenics foundation

The University of Delaware decided that it will no longer receive funds from the Pioneer Fund. They had received \$174,000 for Dr. Linda Gottfredson's study of "racial intelligence." The Pioneer Fund has been funding "scientific" work on "race" since the 1930s. □

Gifts Beyond a Lifetime

The Center for Democratic Renewal depends on voluntary contributions to continue its work to end bigotry and hate violence. People have been generous, but as costs rise and demands for our services continue to grow, the CDR seeks a sounder base of support.

There are a variety of ways to make gifts. I urge you to seek the advice of your attorney or financial advisor to assure yourself that your gift will properly convey your sentiments.

If we can help, please do not hesitate to call. Our attorney is available to discuss matters with you.

Arrange now to have your support and interest in civil rights, democracy and full equality perpetuated.

Thank you,

Rev. C.T. Vivian, Chairman of the Board of Directors

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

In the past ten years racism and bigotry have become widespread. In Louisiana, David Duke has built an entire campaign and raised over one million dollars appealing to racism and anti-semitism. Other less successful candidates are plying their racist wares in Tennessee and Georgia. In Florida and Louisiana, White Student Unions have formed where none existed before. In Tennessee the Aryan Nations has set up camp with only one goal in mind — to win recruits from the dozen different racist youth groups which have sprung up in the region. And in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida Klan groups continue to promote homophobic, racist and anti-semitic violence.

Challenging Racism and Bigotry: The Agenda for Democracy in the '90s

Atlanta, Georgia • November 16, 17, & 18

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This important conference will bring together human rights advocates from across the Southeast to learn, plan and strategize together. Pre-register now to assure your attendance.

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☐ Yes, I want to receive The Monitor and help CDR end bigoted violence and hate group activity. Enclosed is my \$30 membership contribution. ☐ Yes, I'd like to provide more support for CDR public education, leadership training, outreach, research, technical assistance and organizing. Enclosed is my additional contribution of ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$250 ☐ Other \$_____. ☐ I can't join the CDR right now, but I still want to stay informed. Please renew my subscription to the Monitor today! Enclosed is \$15. ☐ I can't donate now, but please keep me informed. ☐ Please take my name off your mail list.

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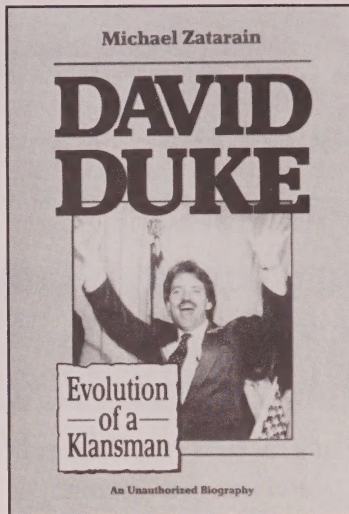
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Book on David Duke is another lesson on the 'banality of evil'

***David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman* by Michael Zatarain. (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Co., 1990).**

Since 1974, when he charmed Tom Snyder on the "Tomorrow" TV show, David Duke has used his good looks and smooth manner to spread racism and bigotry. Although he has spent his career at the center of a maelstrom of Klan and neo-Nazi activity, he emerged in 1989 to be elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives. Duke claims his white supremacist days are behind him, a folly of his youth. But even the most cursory investigation reveals Duke to be still imbedded in neo-Nazi philosophy and politics.

Unfortunately, Michael Zatarain's new book, *David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman*, does not contain even the rudiments of a cursory investigation. It should have been entitled, *David Duke Through His Own Eyes* or *My*



Conversations With Duke. The book appears to have been written once through, almost as a puff piece for Duke. The editing is sloppy and inconsistent.

Zatarain, in spite of himself, presents all the evidence that Duke is bedeviled by Jewish conspiracy theories. But then he can't seem to decide whether Duke is anti-semitic or sim-

ply anti-Zionist.

Zatarain details some (but not all) of Duke's affiliations with national socialist groups over a prolonged time, but then concludes that Duke was only an avowed neo-Nazi for a short time at Louisiana State University. Without the slightest shred of evidence Zatarain echoes Duke's claim that his National Association for the Advancement of White People "was formed along the lines of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Zatarain even accepts — hook, line and sinker — Duke's latest version of his trip to Laos during the Vietnam War. Other journalists, notably New Orleans-based Jason Berry, have taken the cover off Duke's "war record."

Duke has specialized in creating a make believe world of "idealism" to cover up his promotion of a philosophy which reduced African-Americans to chattel slavery and peonage and turned Europe into a charnelhouse.

David Duke, nevertheless, is a useful book if read carefully. If anything it is an apt lesson in what Hannah Arendt once called the "banality of evil." — LEONARD ZESKIND

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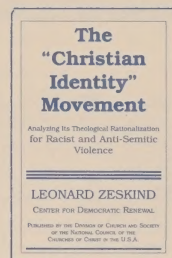
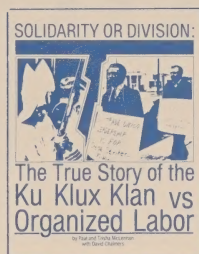
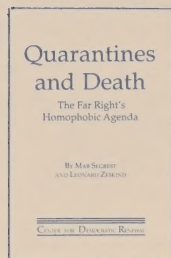
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Literature and Resources

LIST 011 SPRING 1990

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL MONOGRAPH SERIES

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the Monograph Series



NEW

Quarantines and Death: The Far Right's Homophobic Agenda. Did you know that neo-Nazis think AIDS is an African disease and that they plan to build an Aryan Republic on the ashes of this society? This 40-page booklet traces the homophobic violence and rhetoric of the far-right. It analyzes the differences between white supremacists who are also homophobic and homophobia on the New Right. By Mab Segrest and Leonard Zeskind.

Suggested donation \$5.00

Solidarity or Division: The True Story of the Ku Klux Klan vs. Organized Labor.

This 30 page booklet presents an overview of the history of Klan attacks on the labor movement and case studies of Klan involvement with labor struggles. Has a special section of anti-Klan resolutions adopted by labor unions. Ideal for union activists and others concerned with working people. By Paul McLennan and Trisha McLennan with David Chalmers. Sponsored by United Steel Workers of America.

Suggested donation \$3.75.

"They Don't All Wear Sheets": A Chronology of Racist and Far Right Violence-1980-1986.

This 100-page book is the first to document bigoted violence on a national basis over an extended period of time. Indicates the nature of crimes against Blacks and other people of color, Jews, gay people and others who have been targets of hate. By Chris Lutz. Published by The Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches.

Suggested donation \$11.50

The "Christian Identity" Movement: Analyzing Its Theological Rationalization for Racist and Anti-Semitic Violence.

This 52-page booklet is the first in-depth treatment of the religious beliefs held by Klansmen, neo-Nazis and Christian patriots alike. Believing that racial equality is a sin, they are preparing for the final battle of Armageddon — a race war in the U.S. By Leonard Zeskind. Published by the Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches.

Suggested donation \$4.00.



WHEN HATE GROUPS COME TO TOWN: A Handbook of Model Community Responses.

Based on the experiences of over 500 different communities, this manual provides suggestions for "what to do" and "what not to do." Special sections for human rights workers, community activists, clergy, law enforcement, the media and others. Case studies in Maryland, California, Georgia and elsewhere. Hardcover looseleaf with 146 pages. Edited by Randall Williams and Lynn Wells.

Suggested donation \$14.00. 20% discount for orders of 10 or more.

Countering the Politics of Fear

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL BACKGROUND REPORTS

Ballot Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party. BACKGROUND REPORT #7.

This 20-page report details the new far-right electoral strategy used by David Duke when he first ran for President in the 1988 Democratic Party primaries, in the General Election as the candidate of the Populist Party and then won a Louisiana state seat as a Republican in 1989.

Suggested donation \$4.00

Racist and Far Right Organizing in the Pacific Northwest. BACKGROUND REPORT #6.

The Center for Democratic Renewal's 1988 overview of the manifestations of the white supremacist movement and bigotry practiced in the Northwest U.S. 11 pages.

Suggested donation \$4.00

Peddling Racist Violence for a New Generation: A profile of Tom Metzger and the White Aryan Resistance. BACKGROUND REPORT #5.

Outlines the new "Third Position" strategy Metzger has borrowed from European neo-Nazis.

Suggested donation \$2.50

Racist and Anti-Semitic Intervention in the Farm Protest Movement. BACKGROUND REPORT #2.

Initially released in September 1985, this document was the first to warn farm and rural advocacy organizations of the danger from the Far Right.

Suggested donation \$1.25

It's Not Populism—America's New Populist Party: A Fraud by Racists and Anti-Semites. BACKGROUND REPORT #1.

Initially released by the Klanwatch Project and the National Anti-Klan Network, this report was the first to document the emergence of the Populist Party as a coalition-type effort by former Klansmen, neo-Nazis and others on the Far Right.

Suggested donation \$2.75

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL INFORMATION PACKETS

Information packets include articles from the CDR's newsletter, *The Monitor*, newspaper clippings, and sample materials from the Far Right. Extremely useful for students and others.

A)
KKK Research
and Report Packets.
\$6.50

B)
The Order and the
Racist Underground
\$5.50

C)
Skinhead Nazis
and Youth
\$5.00

D)
Lyndon LaRouche
and the NCLC
\$3.00

****NEW****

Youth Organizers' Kit

Contains information packet, poster, button and brochures for ages 12-20.

Suggested donation \$5.50



The Monitor

Six times a year, the newsletter of the Center for Democratic Renewal keeps you informed on the activities and trends of skinheads, neo-Nazis, Klansmen and others on the Far Right. We report it before the media knows about it.

Suggested donation \$15.00 for individuals. \$25.00 for libraries and institutions. \$30.00 for overseas.



New Buttons From CDR

"A" Swastikas with international "no" bar across; red and black on white. 1 1/2 inches.

"B" Hooded Klansmen with international "no" bar across; red & black on white. 1 1/2 inches.

"C" "Celebrate Differences" in five languages, blue and green. 2 inches

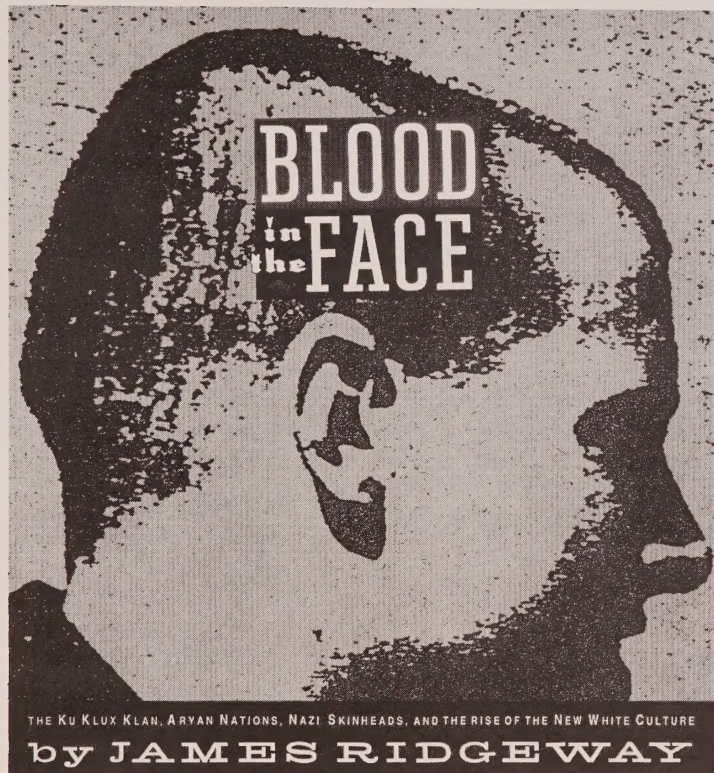
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A special book offer to CDR members and supporters . . .

BLOOD IN THE FACE

THE KU KLUX KLAN, ARYAN NATIONS, NAZI SKINHEADS,
AND THE RISE OF A NEW WHITE CULTURE

BY JAMES RIDGEWAY



Blood in the Face is the first book to expose the full range of racist far-right movements in America and Europe--movements whose participants range from armed underground extremists to mainstream lobbyists and state legislators. It tells their story from the inside out, in text and pictures: interviews, photos, recruiting pamphlets, cartoons, rants, sermons, threats, police reports, and famous last words before the final shootouts.

Village Voice political correspondent James Ridgeway highlights the words and artifacts of the racist far right itself, and also details the movements' volatile history and rapid expansion in the last decade--making Blood in the Face the most current and comprehensive survey to date of a culture that is too powerful--and too much a part of American culture--to be ignored or dismissed.

Published by Thunder's Mouth Press.
208 pages, 8^{3/4} x 9^{1/2}. Photographs
and illustrations. ISBN: 1-560250-03-8.

Now, Blood in the Face is available to Center for Democratic Renewal members and supporters at the discounted price of \$14.95 (\$4.00 off the cover price of \$18.95) with this order form.

____ Yes, please send me ____ copy(s) of Blood in the Face
at a savings of 20%. Enclosed is my check for _____
(\$14.95 per copy, plus \$2.00 shipping for the first copy and
.50 for each additional copy).

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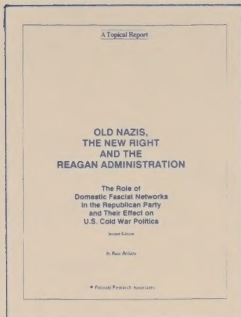
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AVAILABLE FROM THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

From Political Research Associates



Old Nazis, The New Right and the Reagan Administration.

Revealing study of the role of domestic fascist networks in the Republican Party and their effect on U.S. Cold War politics. This 40-page booklet is a must for anyone interested in contemporary public policy. By Russ Bellant.

Suggested donation \$6.50

For Educators and Young People

The Invisible Empire: The Ku Klux Klan Impact on History.

This 166-page paperback was written for school age young people. It is ideal for classroom use, book reports and general information about the Klan. By William Loren Katz

Suggested donation \$12.00

From NCARRV*

*North Carolinians Against Racial and Religious Violence

Report on Bigoted Violence and Hate Group Activity in North Carolina.

This 22-page report chronicles the crossburnings, arsons, vandalism and other acts in 1988 which made North Carolina the leading state, once again, in incidents of bigoted violence.

Suggested donation \$4.00

HOLD ON!: The Fight For Justice in Robeson County.

This 35-minute videotape details the high levels of racist violence in one North Carolina county where a Native American candidate for judge was murdered.

Suggested donation \$45.00

What Can We Do About Racist Violence?

Reprint of the popular NCARRV pamphlet of 20 questions and answers for victims and advocates.

Suggested donation \$3.00

Violence, the Ku Klux Klan and the Struggle for Equality.

A curriculum guide issued in 1981 by the Connecticut Education Association, the Council on Interracial Books for Children and the National Education Association and prepared with the assistance of CDR. 72 pages includes pictures. (Limited copies available)

Suggested donation \$8.00

Important Collections

SHMATE — Special Issue on the Far Right.

This 64-page progressive Jewish magazine published articles on the New Right, the anti-choice movement, the Klan and neo-Nazis and Lyndon LaRouche. Spring of 1985.

Suggested donation \$3.00

Mark of the Beast — Southern Exposure #8.

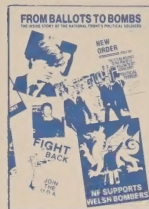
Special issue of journal published by the Institute of Southern Studies devoted to history and activities of the KKK. 72 pages with pictures.

Suggested donation \$4.00

Be sure to get a subscription to **The Monitor** with your order.

From Searchlight Publishers

Searchlight Publishers produce the only English-language anti-fascist monthly magazine. Based in London, England, they provide current coverage of fascist activities across the European continent, North America and South Africa.



From Ballots to Bombs: The Inside Story of the National Front's Political Soldiers.

This 40-page booklet is the most up-to-date expose of the National Front's link to terrorism. Included is never-before seen material on the link between U.S. racists and the Front.

Suggested donation \$6.00.



Against Racism and Fascism in Europe.

This 47-page booklet is the result of a 1986 study by the European Parliament. Surveys neo-Nazism throughout Europe. By *Time Out* journalist Andrew Bell.

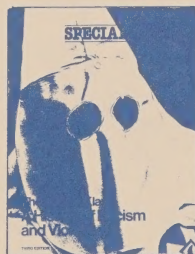
Suggested donation \$5.00.

PSYCHOLOGY, RACISM & FASCISM. This 40-page booklet surveys the new eugenics movement, which is attempting to resurrect the old Nazi "racial science." By Prof. Michael Billig, Dept. of Psychology, University of Birmingham, England.

Suggested donation \$5.00

NEW RIGHT, NEW RACISM. This 70-page booklet exposes the hidden agenda of the British new right on race. It compares and contrasts the new right with the far right, looking at both the differences and links between them. By Paul Gordon and Francesca Klug. With a Preface by award winning playwright David Edgar.

Suggested donation \$10.00



New Era of Hate.

This 32 page booklet contains six essays on the rise in hate group activity. Published in June 1987 in *Engage/Social Action* journal of the General Board of Church and Society United Methodist Church.

Suggested donation \$1.00

From National Gay-Lesbian Task Force

Violence, Victimization & Defamation in 1988: An Annual Report which documents the incidents of homophobic violence which have reached epidemic proportions nationwide. Important information about a subject that is shrouded in prejudice and fear. With statistics.

Suggested donation \$3.25

The Ku Klux Klan / A History of Racism and Violence.

A Special Report by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Edited by Randall Williams. Second edition, 1986. 68 pages with pictures. (Limited copies available.)

Suggested donation \$3.75

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The first book of its kind on the subject of homophobia and sexism. Essential reading for those whose lives and organizations are affected by homophobia and for those who do trainings on homophobia.

"Suzanne Pharr's

Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism is perfectly timed to help us comprehend and combat the escalating homophobia and racist violence that is the bitter legacy of the Reagan years. Her writing is what feminist 'theory' should be: passionate analysis based solidly in a commitment to act."

— Barbara Smith, Editor of
Home Girls:

A Black Feminist Anthology

Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism

By Dennis King (Doubleday, 1989, 415 pp.)

THE REVIEWERS SAY:

"The definitive work on its crazy, chilling subject....King's book, it is hoped, will be LaRouche's epitaph." --The New Republic

"Mr. King probably knows more about Mr. LaRouche, that master of self-delusion, than anyone, including Mr. LaRouche himself."--The New York Times

"Anyone who thinks LaRouche is a harmless kook needs to look closely at King's title, then read on. He or she will be horrified." --Jewish Advocate (Boston)

"A courageous, hard-hitting expose."--Publishers Weekly

"This book proves conclusively that [LaRouche's] people have had access to the counsels of government not only in America but in Western Europe."--New York Post

"Riveting...deserves a wide audience."--Village Voice

"The hallmark work...alive with anecdotes, both amusing and frightening...A cautionary tale of how American institutions collectively failed to confront and counter a dangerously subversive political movement."--Los Angeles Herald Examiner

"Monumental body of well-explained research...Astounding..."
--Worcester Magazine

"King succeeds in doing the seeming impossible: he makes LaRouche make sense."--The Monitor (Center for Democratic Renewal)

"Chilling and illuminating."--American Library Association

"Brilliant and meticulous...outlines with horrifying clarity how easily Americans are convinced to give up their freedoms."--New York Native

"Densely packed with analysis of LaRouche's methods and evidence that the man is not merely a bizarre eccentric but a true political player..."--Chicago Sun-Times

"King's message, which rings true, is that a democratic system has to be ever alert and ready to confront all strains of fascism, even those that appear too nutty to worry about."--The Nation

DENNIS KING is available for speeches, seminars and radio/TV appearances. Call 212-838-9829. His book is available direct from the author; make check or money order for \$13.50 payable to DENNIS KING (includes postage/mailling). Send with this coupon to Dennis King, 420 East 64 Street, Suite 8-G-E, New York, NY 10021.

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DEMOCRACY

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Strategies for
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A Conference

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November 16-18, 1990

Conference Program



THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

The Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR) is a national clearinghouse for efforts to counter hate group activity and bigoted violence. Founded in 1979 as the National Anti-Klan Network, the CDR provides programs of public education, research, policy advocacy, leadership training, community organizing and crisis response.

In its initial years, the CDR concentrated on community-based organizing in the South and developed programmatic models which are now used as the basis for training civil rights activists, grassroots organizers, public officials, religious leaders and human relations professionals throughout the United States. The organization has grown significantly in the past five years, establishing offices in Kansas City and Seattle, in addition to its national headquarters in Atlanta.

The CDR's uniqueness as a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, interfaith organization stems from the expertise gained by its seven member staff and 21 member board of directors working with hundreds of communities and organizations across the country.

The CDR operates through a broad-based network of individual members and supporters, organizational affiliates, religious groups and municipal and state agencies. There are 35 organizations affiliated with the CDR, ranging from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in Washington, D.C. to the Jewish Federation of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the Concerned Black Citizens Committee of Blakely, Georgia.

The Center for Democratic Renewal is a non-profit, tax-exempt, 501 (c) (3) organization.

Atlanta Office
P.O. Box 50469
Atlanta, Ga. 30302

404-221-0025

Midwest Office
P.O. Box 413767
Kansas City, Mo. 64141

816-421-6614

Northwest Office
P.O. Box 88359
Seattle, Wa. 98138

206-575-3650

CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

P.O. Box 50469 • Atlanta, Georgia 30302-0469 • (404) 221-0025

November 16, 1990

Dear Conference Participant:

Greetings! On behalf of the board of directors and staff of the Center for Democratic Renewal, I want to welcome you to Democracy vs. Racism and Bigotry: Strategies for the 1990s.

More than 23 years ago, in 1967, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. described the triple evils of our society as poverty, racism and violence. Today, in 1990, we continue to face the challenge of restoring democracy and justice to our society.

In the past ten years there has been a resurgence of racism and bigotry accompanied by an escalation in violent attacks upon people of color and other minorities. At the same time, bigots like David Duke have given the organized white supremacist movement a seemingly legitimate public voice and public face and a wide variety of hate groups have become more sophisticated in their efforts to penetrate the mainstream of American life.

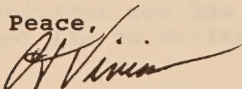
This conference is a unique opportunity to bring together old friends and new allies to exchange information, share ideas, offer solutions and, most importantly, lay the groundwork for a more cohesive and comprehensive struggle against racism, anti-semitism and homophobia.

From the earliest days of the civil rights movement, when I was organizing lunch counter sit-ins in Peoria, Illinois, I knew that the fight against racism was a long-term struggle. But still, I could never have imagined then, in 1947, that more than 40 years later, bigoted violence and hate group activity would be on the rise.

As bad as things are, however, I believe that we can still win the fight against bigotry and hate violence. With your help and participation we can build a successful regional and national movement for human rights and social justice in our lifetime.

Thank you for joining us in Atlanta and pledging your support for the hard work that lies ahead.

Peace,



Rev. C.T. Vivian

Chairman of the Board of Directors

SPECIAL THANKS

The Center for Democratic Renewal is especially grateful to the following individuals and organizations for the support they have provided to make this conference a success:

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
Robert & Lucinda Bunnan
Bishop Joseph C. Coles, Jr. & Geneva H. Coles
Tom Dennis
Fund for Southern Communities
Funding Exchange
M.K. Gandhi Foundation
Fay Gold Gallery
Dr. Marvin Goldstein
Jane Harvey
Highlander Research and Education Center
Keith Jennings, Director, National Cultural Diversification
Program, Amnesty International, U.S.A., Inc.
Norman Foundation
Partnership for Democracy
Don Rivers, Rivers Productions
Sapelo Island Research Foundation
Shefa Fund
Tom Tortorici, Graphic Artist
United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries

Volunteers

Lynn Cothren
Rebecca Dameron
Denise McFall
Dr. Marian Meyers
Diane Drew
Kim Miller

We are especially grateful to Amnesty International, U.S.A. for hosting the opening reception. However it must be noted that this action does not constitute the endorsement of this conference or its content. Amnesty International is an independent, worldwide human rights movement dedicated to wider promotion of the universal declaration of human rights and the ratification of the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

Democracy vs. Racism and Bigotry
Strategies for the 1990's
November 16 - 18, 1990

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Friday, November 16

OPENING RECEPTION 7-8 pm

Location: Grand Ballroom

Hosted by Amnesty International USA, Southern Regional Office,
National Cultural Diversification Program AIUSA
Welcoming Remarks - Steve Herrick, AIUSA, Southern Regional
Director
C.T. Vivian, Chairman, CDR Board of Directors
Honorable John Lewis, Georgia Congressional Representative
5th District

BRIEFING ON DAVID DUKE 8-9 pm

Location: Grand Ballroom

Moderator - Jan Douglass, CDR Board Member
Larry Powell, Professor of History, Tulane University
Lance Hill, Executive Director, Louisiana Coalition Against
Racism and Nazism
Lenny Zeskind, Research Director, Center for Democratic Renewal

Saturday, November 17

MORNING PLENARY: 9-10:30am

Location: Augusta/Brunswick/Decatur Rooms Combined

Jan Douglass - Welcome and Introductory remarks
Michael Lomax - Fulton County Commissioner
Dan Levitas - Executive Director, Center for Democratic Renewal
Southern Overview
Anne Braden - Introduction of C.T. Vivian
C.T. Vivian - Chairman CDR Board of Directors, Opening Keynote

SATURDAY MORNING WORKSHOPS: 10:45am - 12:15pm

The Theology of Bigotry: Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Homophobia

Location: Terrace A

Moderator - C.T. Vivian, Chairman CDR Board of Directors
Mac Jones, Theology of Racism - Vice Chair CDR Board, Social
Justice Commission, National Baptist Convention of America,
Pastor, St. Stephens Baptist Church, Kansas City, MO
Reverend Marge Ragona, Theology of Homophobia - Metropolitan
Community Churches of Atlanta
Laura Levitt, Theology of Anti-Semitism - Graduate Student,
Department of Religion, Emory University

When Hate Groups Come to Town: Models of Community Response

Location: Fulton Room (repeated)

Moderator - Hilary Shelton, CDR Board Member
Lavaun Ishee - Mobilization to Stop David Duke, New Orleans, LA
Sabrina Sojourner - National Gay & Lesbian Task Force,
Atlanta, GA
Bob Henry - Giles Countians United, Pulaski, TN

Monitoring and Documenting Hate Group Activity and Bigoted
Violence

Location: Terrace B

Moderator - Randall Williams, CDR Board Member
Mab Segrest - North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious
Violence
Kelly Mitchell-Clark - Women's Project, Little Rock, AK
Michael Phillips - Research Assistant, Center for Democratic
Renewal, Kansas City, MO
Dennis King, Author, "Lyndon LaRouche and The New American
Fascism" Investigative Journalist

Racism and the Media

Location: Eastman Room

Moderator - Dr. Marian Meyers, Assistant Professor, Georgia
State University, Department of Communication
Vern Smith - Newsweek
Jim Schuler - WAGA-TV
Scott Marshall - Gwinnett Daily News

Fundraising to Fight Bigotry

Location: Augusta Room

Moderator - Jan Douglass, CDR Board Member
Alan MacGregor - Sapelo Island Research Foundation, Atlanta, GA
Beth Rosales - Funding Exchange, New York, NY
Gina Mangham - Fund for Southern Communities, Atlanta, GA

Overview of the White Supremacist Movement

Location: Brunswick Room

Lenny Zeskind - Research Director, Center for Democratic
Renewal, Kansas City, MO

Youth and a Second Freedom Movement

Location: Columbus Room (repeated)

Moderator - Jonathan Mozzochi, Coalition for Human Dignity
Latrease Rutland - 21st Century Youth Leadership Project,
Tuskegee, AL
Raynard Davis - D.C. Student Coalition Against Apartheid and
Racism
Lisa Rosenberg - Multi-Cultural Affairs Cabinet, Student
Government, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

Legislative and Legal Responses to Hate Group Activity

Location: Decatur Room (repeated)

Moderator - Chris Davis-McCoy, North Carolinians Against
Racist and Religious Violence, Durham, NC
Nan Orrock - State Representative, Atlanta, GA
Brian Spears - Attorney at Law, Atlanta, GA
Deni Yamauchi - CDR, Northwest Coordinator, Seattle, WA
Carmaleta Monteith - American Indian Task Force, Georgia Human
Relations Commission, Atlanta, GA

SATURDAY LUNCH: 12:30 - 2:00

Location: Grand Ballroom

Mac Jones - Program Moderator, "Life and Death in Blakely,
Georgia", Introduction of Video
Brian Spears - Remarks and introduction of Ben Cawthon
Ben Cawthon, President, Concerned Black Citizens Committee of
Blakely and Early County, Georgia

AFTERNOON WORKSHOPS: 2 - 3:30 pm

Racism in the Mainstream: The Challenge for African American
Leadership

Location: Terrace A

Moderator - Joann Watson, Executive Director, Detroit NAACP;
CDR Board Member
Jan Douglass - CDR Board Member
Isaiah Madison - Executive Director, Institute for Southern
Studies, Durham, NC
Rev. Mac Jones - Vice Chair, CDR Board of Directors

When Hate Groups Come to Town: Models of Community Response

Location: Fulton Room (repeat)

Moderator - Mab Segrest, CDR Board of Directors; Director of Research, NCARRV
Wilbur Robinson, Vice President, Concerned Black Citizens Committee, Blakely, GA
Janet Payne - People for Unity, Gainesville, GA
Jenny Brown - Community Against Hate Crime, Gainesville, FL

Beyond David Duke: White Supremacy's Electoral Agenda

Location: Terrace B

Moderator - Hilary Shelton, CDR Board Member
Lenny Zeskind - CDR, Research Director
Larry Powell - Professor of History, Tulane University
Lance Hill - Executive Director, Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism

Combating Racism: The Challenge for White Activists

Location: Augusta Room

Moderator-Sandra Robinson, GA Citizens Against Hunger, Atlanta
Joey Romana - Mobilization to Stop David Duke
Anne Braden - Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice, Louisville, KY, CDR Board Member
David Billings - People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, New Orleans, LA

Legislative and Legal Responses to Hate Group Activity

Location: Decatur Room (repeat)

Moderator - Sherry Frank
Nan Orrock - State Representative, Atlanta, GA
Margaret Carey - Center for Constitutional Rights, Greenville, MS
Deni Yamauchi - Northwest Coordinator, CDR
Carmaleta L. Monteith - American Indian Task Force, Georgia Human Relations Commission

Youth and a Second Freedom Movement

Location: Columbus Room (repeat)

Moderator - Karl Rainhold, President, Gator Chapter, NAACP, Gainesville, FL
Jonathan Mozzochi, Coalition for Human Dignity
Jackie Workman - Fairfield United Action, Jenkinsville, SC
Nikita Imani, Commander, Project 99, Gainesville, FL

BREAK: 3:30 - 3:45 pm

STATE CAUCUSES: 3:45 - 5 pm

North Carolina and South Carolina: Fulton Room
Louisiana and Arkansas: Terrace B
Kentucky and Tennessee: Augusta Room
Florida: Brunswick Room
Mississippi and Alabama: Columbus Room
Mixed States: Decatur Room

EVENING PLENARY AND KEYNOTE: 5:00 - 6:30 pm

Location: Augusta/Brunswick/Decatur Rooms Combined

"The Rising Tide of Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Xenophobia Internationally"

Moderator - Joanne Watson, NAACP Detroit, CDR Board Member
Martin Theriault - Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudices
Gerry Gable - Publisher and Managing Editor, Searchlight magazine
Sifiso Makhathini - African National Congress
Lenny Zeskind - Research Director, Center for Democratic Renewal

SATURDAY NIGHT ENTERTAINMENT: 8:00 pm

Location: American Hotel Grand Ballroom

Entertainment and Dancing (Don Rivers Productions) "Tropical Steel" Caribbean Band. Cash bar. (No cover)

Sunday, November 18

KEYNOTE PLENARY: 9:15 -10:15 am

Location: Augusta/Brunswick/Decatur Rooms Combined

Randall Williams - Introduction of Stetson Kennedy
Stetson Kennedy - Keynote

PLENARY: STRATEGIES AND MODELS FOR COMMUNITY ACTION 10:15-11:45am

Location: Augusta/Brunswick/Decatur Rooms Combined

Moderator - Randall Williams, CDR Board Member
Chris Davis-McCoy - North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, Durham, NC
Kelly Mitchell-Clark - Women's Project, Little Rock, AK
Pat McGuire - Coalition for Human Dignity, Portland, OR

BREAK: 11:45 - 12:00 noon

SUNDAY LUNCH 12:00 - 1:15 pm

Location: Grand Ballroom

Arun Gandhi, M.K. Gandhi Foundation, University, MS

Brief Remarks: Caste, Race & Color: Non-Violence & the Fight
Against Bigotry

CLOSING PLENARY 1:15 - 2:30 pm

Location: Augusta/Brunswick/Decatur Rooms Combined

"Perspectives on the Future"

Moderator - Dan Levitas, CDR, Executive Director

Suzanne Pharr - Women's Project, Little Rock, AK

Aaron Two Elk - International Indian Treaty Council, Southeast

Regional Coordinator: American Indian Movement

Jan Douglass - CDR Board Member

Lenny Zeskind - Research Director, Center for Democratic Renewal

2:30 Adjourn

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Randall Williams
Montgomery, AL

Leah Wise
Southerners for Economic
Justice

Daniel Levitas
Executive Director

Organizational Affiliates of CDR

Bay Area Municipal Elections Committee (San Jose, CA)	Jewish Federation of Tulsa, OK
Center for Community Change (Washington, DC)	Lesbian and Gay Student Alliance (Pennsylvania State Univeristy)
Center for Constitutional Rights (New York, NY)	National Education Association, Human and Civil Rights (Washington, DC)
Canadian Center on Racism and Prejudices (Quebec)	National Lawyers Guild (NY, NY)
Coalition for Human Dignity (Portland, OR)	National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (Washington, DC)
Concerned Black Citizens Committee of Blakely, GA	New Jewish Agenda (New York, NY)
Connecticut Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (Hartford, CT)	North Carolinians Against Racist & Religious Violence (Durham, NC)
Emory University Human Relations Commission (Atlanta, GA)	Pink Triangle Political Coalition (Kansas City, MO)
Evanston Human Relations Commission (Evanston, IL)	Political Research Associates (Cambridge, MA)
Farmers Assistance Counseling and Training Services (Manhattan, KS)	PrairieFire Rural Action (Des Moines, IA)
Fellowship of Reconciliation (Nyack, NY)	Presbyterian Church U.S.A., Social Justice & Peacemaking Unit (Louisville, KY)
Gay and Lesbian Resource Center of Ventura County (Camarillo, CA)	Puget Sound Task Force on Human Rights (Seattle, WA)
GROW Community Center (Wilmington, NC)	Southern Organizing Committee for Social & Economic Justice (Birmingham, AL)
Human Relations Commission of the City of Evanston (IL)	Southerners for Economic Justice (Durham, NC)
Illinois Stewardship Alliance (Herrin, IL)	Tennessee Gay and Lesbian Alliance (Nashville, TN)
Jewish Federation of Greater Des Moines (Des Moines, IA)	United Methodist Church, Women's Division (NY, NY) and Board of Church and Society (Wash. D.C.)
	Women's Project (Little Rock, AR)



CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

P.O. Box 50469 • Atlanta, Georgia 30302-0469 • (404) 221-0025

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think my homosexuality threatens their families, their churches, and the state of the nation. Some of these people even feel an inordinate desire to do damage to people whose homosexuality they feel threatens them -- and for this feeling, George Weinberg, a psychotherapist, coined the term "homophobia," the fear of and prejudice against gay people and the desire to exact retribution in some way from them.

We have matured as a society in some ways: We don't tie little left-handed children's hand to their sides any more, nor do we see little left-handers as witches and warlocks in the making and destine them for the burning, and or even believe, as in ancient hagiography, that saints were so holy they didn't even suckle at the left breast. Humanity has been very ^{immature and dangerous} ~~foolish~~ in its time. The three of us sitting here represent how some of that ^{dangerous} ~~foolish~~ thinking has been codified, and legalized, and theologized into moral stances that, if we really thought about them, would be just as outmoded as medieval thinking about lefthandedness.

The difficulty with a topic like this is that it assumes that all "right" thinking people agree, and I'm not sure they do. Many people today understand the cultural-boundedness and time-boundedness of theology of any kind. Most of us present here would probably agree that anything which was said in scripture -- Hebrew or Christian -- was originally said to real people who lived in a given place and a given time, and the words spoken to and by them related to the society in which they lived. They had no idea that those words would echo through history, and probably if they had, they might have couched some of them differently; and I hope St. Paul is listening! I don't

think Paul intended that the paranesis sections, the teaching or didactic sections, of his letters would be read in 20th Century America and that words intended for 1st Century Christians in a particular town in the ancient world would be still around and still read as pertinent. If he had, I think he would have realized that he was contradicting himself on the issue of women prophesying, and I think he would have spelled out better some things that we can only conjecture about. ^{these were} For example, what he meant when he used words whose meaning has been lost to us, because the actions which they described have also ceased to be something we in the modern world seldom concern ourselves about--like the making of magic through sexual intercourse. And maybe going down to the temple for a little good sex to increase the harvest. Yet, very important issues for Paul, because the pagans (and the word simply meant "country dweller") he was trying to reach with his message of an accepting God, would ordinarily have done just that. John Boswell, who has written a very important book which looks at antisemitism and homophobia, Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homophobia, makes abundantly clear that one of the words which Paul understood and warned his followers about, malakoi, meant moral weakness and softness. We forget that he was talking to a society where one needed to be politically correct and have on one's person papers that attested to the fact that one had made the required annual sacrifice to the image of the king, and Christians were forbidden to do that. However, some did, just to be certain that their lives would not be in danger -- and some of those who did that, were living in two communities, the Christian and the pagan. And Paul was singling them out as "soft." ^{they were afraid for their bodily safety - not hardened} The companion word to malakoi was arsenokoitai, and as ^{two} ~~as~~ ^{Christians} homophobic Christians are being taught, Paul intended these words

taken together

to speak out against homosexuality. I don't want to argue with these fine people, but Boswell cites letters from the early church fathers who speak to the Christian community and which tell husbands to stop doing it (whatever arsenokoitai was) with their wives!

You wondered why I started out with left-handedness -- well it was ^{too} once theologized about, until we realized it was a natural phenomena. So, too, one day we will recognize that much that we believe our religious heritage tells us about sexuality is also time and culture bound, and maybe we will get over ourselves. The real sin, you see, is not homosexuality -- it's homophobia. And the real sin is not what we fear, but how we act on our fears.

And that leads me to another Biblical application -- Sodom and Gomorrah. If anyone were to read the story, and I think very few people do, they would realize that God had already condemned these cities because of their mistreatment of people. The story really has nothing to do with homosexuals -- it has a great deal to do with the misuse of power. Abraham and Lot are sojourners -- strangers -- but have become so wealthy that they are treated like the elders of the town, and when Lot's visitors arrive, it is Lot who is sitting at the city gate and the ^{other} elders do not have the opportunity to question them ^{strange} as to their intentions. Because the townspeople feared the strangers -- as they apparently did other strangers -- they acted in their usual inhospitable manner, and came to "know" them; yadha, 915 times in Scripture ~~it~~ means to know cognitively. Twice it means to know sexually, and both of those times it means heterosexually. When Lot, as a true desert dweller tried to protect his guests (for they had his

protection if they had eaten salt at his table up to six hours after they left the camp -- or until the salt had left their bowels) they attempted bodily harm ~~to~~ his guests. Only women, I think, would realize how sad the rest of the story is, for Lot then offers his ^{unmarried} ~~virgin~~ daughters for them to vent their anger on, but they must not touch his guests. He gave his prized possessions, not his cattle or his oxen, but his daughters, because the hospitality he offered a guest was much more sacred than mere females. The plainsdwellers, true to God's impression of them, and the whole reason the heavenly messengers had been sent, insisted on their right to be inhospitable and to tread on the rights of the stranger and the sojourner.

I sometimes understand that story better than I wish I did. I know what it is to be a stranger and a sojourner in this land, to pay the same taxes for no protection, to feel that at any minute I can be attacked -- and have been -- because I am "other," and to have the very attack justified and theologized by the same story that teaches me that God wants the protection of the stranger and the sojourner in all of God's lands.

I do not need to defend the Scriptures. They certainly do not need my blessing. But I think there must be more in them than just a condemnation of those who ^{are} ~~racially~~ ~~are~~ "other," those who are sexually "other," those who are religiously "other," those who are genitally "other," and those who are nationally "other." Somehow, I still think the question comes down to Jesus sitting on a hillside and telling a story of one who was "other" proving that he understood what it was to be a true neighbor, and by that act setting a pattern which all of us,

no matter what color, what God we worship, who^{we} profess to love,
could learn in a way that would benefit the world. "Who is my
neighbor?" Today, the whole world is ~~my~~^{our} neighbor. None of us are so
distant that we can forget that we are each dependent on the whole,
and the whole is dependent on each of us. It is a fragile world out
there -- it would be better for all of us to theologize on mutual
dependence rather than on any one group seeing itself as supreme. No
one people owns the world -- and despite some of our earlier ^{and theologues} beliefs ¹⁰
-- no one people ever did. We are all each other's neighbors.

P.O. Box 50469 • Atlanta, Georgia 30302-0469 • (404) 221-0025

Please use this form to record information about bigoted violence, hate group activity or construtive responses. Please attach copies of leaflets, newspaper clippings, flyers, etc. Try and be as specific as you can about the names of individuals and organizations involved in perpetrating acts of hate violence or sponsoring rallies, marches or meetings.

YOUR NAME: _____ DATE ____/____/____

ORG. AFFILIATION: _____ TEL: () -

ADDRESS: _____ CTY/ST/ZIP: _____

(MORE OVER)

KEY PERSONS/ORGS _____

HARRASS.____ VANDAL.____ ASSAULT____ ARSON____ MURDER____ WEAPONS____

[illegible]

MARCH/RALLY MEETING OTHER

WHO OR WHAT IS YOUR SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR THIS REPORT?:

NAME: _____ TEL: () - _____

ADDRESS: _____ CTY/ST/ZIP _____

NEWS REPORT ☐ VICTIM ☐ RUMOR/GRAPEVINE ☐ EYEWITNESS ☐ OTHER? ☐

FOLLOW-UP/RESPONSE _____

CLIPS: Please send newspaper clippings of crossburnings and other acts of bigoted violence as well as any news related to the Klan, neo-Nazis, skinheads, Aryan Nations, electoral activities of white supremacists, etc. SEND TO CDR; PO BOX 50469; ATLANTA, GA 30302

November 16 - 18, 1990

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
 Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Sat. morning Workshop: _____ (title):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Saturday Lunch Presentations & Video ("Life & Death in Blakely, Ga."):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Sat. afternoon Workshop: _____ (title):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*I found the state caucus sessions (please circle one):

Not at all Helpful	Somewhat Helpful	Very Helpful	Extremely Helpful
-----------------------	------------------	--------------	----------------------

*Sat. Afternoon Plenary (International Focus: Europe, Canada, South Africa):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Saturday night entertainment: Tropical Steel Caribbean Band

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Sunday Morning Opening Keynote (Stetson Kennedy):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Sun. Morning Plenary ("Strategies and Models for Community Action"):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Sunday Luncheon Plenary (Perspectives on the Future):

X-----X-----X-----X-----X
Poor Fair Good Very Good Excellent

*Please evaluate the following aspects of the conference: (circle one letter for these categories (Poor, Fair, Good, Very Good, Excellent))

Conf. publicity & promotion:	P	F	G	VG	Ex
Registration and logistics:	P	F	G	VG	Ex
Overall conf. organization:	P	F	G	VG	Ex
Helpfulness of CDR staff:	P	F	G	VG	Ex
Luncheon food:	P	F	G	VG	Ex
Hotel accommodations:	P	F	G	VG	Ex

THEOLOGY OF HOMOPHOBIA

I don't think that in 1944, when I first discovered that I was sexually attracted to another woman, that one day I would be sitting on anybody's panel discussing how that discovery in a 15 year old would be seen as making a political statement. For heterosexuals, being 15 and in love has very little to do with politics. Yet, for a ~~teenaged~~ homosexual, it seems that who you love and who you take to bed has become a major political issue. I also did not think of it as an ethical decision, and it never dawned on me that it was a theological statement as well. I was very naive. I am no longer that naive, and certainly not that innocent. I know now that my decision to love another woman is an extremely political statement, and I know that my homosexuality is not only a theological and ethical stance, but that it also seems to give others a deep pain in their theology as well.

I don't think anyone ever imagines to themselves, "I think I will be homosexual today," and for that reason it disturbs me when ^{religious} people speak of ^{my} "choice." ^{to be a homosexual} ~~I have been known to even be angry when~~ ^{religious} people ~~talk about my having made a choice to be homosexual.~~ For me, it is a little like left-handedness. One does not choose it, it just is. But just as "right-wing" in politics seems to suggest that one is on the side of God, and left-wing implies that one is on the side of the other fellow; and as left-handedness became in Latin "sinister," and right-handedness became synonymous with moral rectitude (same root), the state of being a homosexual has become for some people a matter of grave importance -- not gay people, either -- but others who seem to

